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*The*
***BULLETIN***
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# Friends Historical Association

**Vol. 44** **Spring Number, 1955** **No. 1**

## EARLY QUAKERISM IN THE NETHERLANDS
### Its Wider Context

By Geoffrey F. Nuttall*

THE object of this article is to summarize the material collected in a little-known book about religion in Holland which appeared half a century ago. Ernst Troeltsch describes the book as "deeply interesting" and as "a perfect mine of the characteristic peculiarities of . . . 'spiritual religion'," exhibiting "in an amazing manner parallels with the English movement"[1] towards a more "spiritual" religion in the seventeenth century. Yet to the best of my knowledge no considerable use has ever been made of it by writers on radical Puritanism and early Quakerism in England and America. The title of the book is *Reformateurs: Geschiedkundige studiën over de godsdienstige bewegingen uit de nadagen onzer gouden eeuw (Reformers: Historical Studies in the Religious Movements of the Period of Our Golden Age).* Its author, C. B. Hylkema, is described on the title page as Doctor in Theology and Preacher in the Baptist congregation at Zaandam. The first volume, which contains 227 pages, was published in 1900; the

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[1] E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches,* trans. O. Wyon (London, 1931), II, 975.

second, which appeared in 1902, runs to 516 pages, and on account of its great length the appendices of documents which had been promised were unfortunately not printed. The publisher of both volumes was H. D. Tjeenk Willem & Zoon of Haarlem.

Hylkema's work was noticed in the *British Friend,*[2] but briefly and inadequately. Rufus M. Jones evidently knew of its existence,[3] and William I. Hull has an occasional quotation from its references to early Quakers in the Netherlands;[4] but neither of these writers appears to have appreciated its value in providing material for comparative purposes. Other students of the subject with which it deals have neglected it, partly, no doubt, because it is written in Dutch and has not been translated. It must be seldom that a book is worthy of an extended summary fifty years after its appearance; but at a time when the origins of Quakerism and its relation to other seventeenth-century religious movements are receiving new attention on both sides of the Atlantic, it may be useful to acquaint students with Hylkema's work. He writes as a man of his time, and Troeltsch is probably right in observing that he interprets the theology of his reformers "too much in the sense of modern rationalistic and politico-social phenomena"; but when all is said his work deserves more attention than it has received.

In his first chapter Hylkema introduces his main characters, grouped under three heads: the Collegiants; individual reformers; and Friends. The Collegiant movement had its origin in a Remonstrant secession[5] during 1619, at a time when the Church in the Netherlands was divided over Arminianism. The seceders' lack of an ordained minister was at first only by force of circumstances and not on principle; but later, when a minister visited them, a minority of them, with their original leader Gijsbert van der Kodde, seceded again, taking up their dwelling at Rijnsburg,

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[2] See *British Friend,* N.S., XVII (1908), 244 f. (as Hylhema).

[3] Cf. his *Spiritual Reformers,* (London, 1914), p. 104, n.1.

[4] Cf. his *Willem Sewel* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1933), pp. 179 f.; *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1938), p. 214, n. 444, and p. 260, n. 606 (as Hylkena).

[5] J. C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten* (Haarlem, 1895), pp. 177 f., 395 f., suggests influence from the English Separatist Church at Leiden which had John Robinson as pastor.

where, repudiating the separated ministry, they observed "prophesying," baptism by immersion, and admission to the Lord's Supper without condition or examination. In about 1645 a wider movement set in, in association with the Rijnsburgers but with a more conscious and definite intention of attempting to reform the world. Among its leaders were Daniël van Breen, a millenarian and pacifist, who had been influenced by Schwenckfeld; Adam Boreel, an enthusiastic disciple of Jacob Boehme; and most important of all, Galenus Abrahaamszoon de Haan, a teacher in the Baptist congregation at Amsterdam. Galenus' advanced teaching led to a long and bitter dispute, which spread to the congregations at Utrecht, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Leiden, and to the founding of further groups (or "colleges") in these places. The parties received various sobriquets: Orthodox, Precisians, Old Baptists, Mennonites on the one hand; Galenists, Moderates, Socinians, Collegiants, Independents, "the younger party" on the other.

At this time "the idea of reformation was at work everywhere." Among several individual Dutch reformers mentioned by Hylkema are Johannes Rothe, another enthusiastic disciple of Boehme and again a millenarian (1674 was his date for the end of the world, somewhat later than the various dates preferred by his English *confrères*),[6] who, in his early melancholy and wanderings, reminds one of George Fox, as also in his marriage "in submission to God's will"; Lodowijk Giftheil, who visited the Sultan (like Mary Fisher); and his disciple, Quirinus Kuhlmann, who was burned alive in Russia in 1689 on the charge (reminiscent of the charge against James Nayler) that he called himself the Son of God. Two foreigners, who had a considerable influence on reforming circles in the Netherlands, and who are better known to church historians, were Jean de Labadie[7] and Antoinette Bourignon.[8]

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[6] For these dates, cf. my *Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith & Experience,* (Oxford, 1946) p. 109, with n.1.

[7] For Labadie's influence in the Netherlands, cf. W. Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der Reformierten Kirche der Niederlande, bis zur Labadistischen Krisis 1670* (Leipzig, 1911).

[8] Cf. A. R. Macewen, *Antoinette Bourignon, Quietist* (London, 1910), esp. ch. iii for her four years in the Netherlands.

Hylkema then gives a straightforward narrative account of the early Quakers in the Netherlands and their movements, following Sewel's history, and supplementing this from Stephen Crisp's *Uytroepinge tegens de vervolginge in Vrieslandt* (1670: *Outcry against the Persecution in Friesland*; not translated).

In his second chapter Hylkema reveals how tangled was the relationship of attraction and repulsion which existed between these various groups and individuals. Rothe and the Quakers attacked the Collegiants, the Collegiants attacked Rothe and the Quakers: *Den Philosopherenden Boer*[9] (1676) by the Collegiant Frans Kuyper includes twenty-eight queries in retort to the queries issued at various times by William Ames, Benjamin Furly, William Caton, and Jacob Jacobs. Antoinette Bourignon received a drubbing from Furly in *Anthoniette Bourignon ontdeckt* (1671) and duly replied with an *Advertissement . . . Tegen De Secte der Quakers* (1672). She and Labadie met but quarreled bitterly. Yet, on the other hand, the Collegiants read Antoinette Bourignon more zealously than any other author except Boehme; correspondence between her and Rothe and Kuhlmann was published; Galenus showed considerable friendliness to the Quakers; and the Quakers showed considerable friendliness to the followers of Labadie. In *De Lammerenkrigh,* a tract published against Galenus in 1663, it is stated that "the majority of the Netherlands Quakers have first been Collegiants"[10]; but in some cases Quakers became Collegiants.

The common factor in all these "reforming" movements, Hylkema writes, was their repudiation of the existing forms of Christianity. In the reformers' eyes what was (as it still is) called "the Reformation" was as much built on principles directly opposed to those of the New Testament as Roman Catholicism was: there had never been any genuine recovery from the decline which they associated with Constantine. Nowadays, they complained, no healing power goes forth from the Church; no one is brought to conversion; better be called a heretic with Christ than an orthodox believer with the heretical Church.[11] The reunion of the churches

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[9] This is one of many pieces used or listed by Hylkema which is not included in Joseph Smith's bibliographical volumes.

[10] On the similar trend in England, cf. my *Holy Spirit,* pp. 13 f.

[11] Cf. John Milton, *Areopagitica* (Everyman edn., p. 27): "a man may be a heretic in the truth."

would not stop the decay; on the contrary, only through recovery from the decay could reunion come about naturally. Toleration was not enough; revolution was necessary. Hylkema quotes from the Dutch translation of Crisp's *Alarum* (1671) as representing the reformers' common front: the apostasy prophesied in Scripture is not the rise of Protestantism, as the Roman Catholics say, nor the apostasy of the papacy, as the Protestants say, but in truth is with "all those that denyes the Word of Faith in the Heart, and Christ to be the Rule."

All this inevitably expressed itself in a movement of separation from conventional and established Christianity. A strict Collegiant held it a matter of conscience not to attend services at churches where there was no liberty for "prophesying"; and if Galenus took a more moderate and conciliatory attitude, he only earned the title of "the pest of the Collegiants."[12] Because the reformers found adherence to confessional formulae alongside worldliness in the orthodox party, they repudiated it with the worldliness. Subjects of discussion among them included (as in England) silent and vocal prayer, the calling and paying of teachers, the visible and invisible Church, the observance of the Lord's Supper, footwashing, baptism, and excommunication, especially baptism. Less, Hylkema holds, in order closely to follow New Testament usage than to be clear in their repudiation of conventional baptism by sprinkling,[13] the Labadists adopted believers' baptism; while some Collegiants, who were already accustomed to believers' baptism, went further and adopted baptism by immersion. For both parties it was no longer the number of the baptized (as the number of the elect) which was important, but baptism itself. Other Collegiants were like Socinus and the Quakers in repudiating baptism as "a Jewish form abrogated by Christ"; others again were indifferent: Galenus admitted to the Lord's Supper both baptized and unbaptized.

The conventional union of Church and State in theory and practice meant that the repudiation of one involved the repudiation

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[12] Both these attitudes to worship at "the public" (cf. "de openbare kerken" on the Dutch reformers' lips) are to be found among the English Independents.

[13] Cf. George Fox, *Journal* (Cambridge, 1911), ed. N. Penney, II, 129.

of the other also. (Hylkema treats the reformers' repudiation of the Church as prior, but this seems disputable; in any case the common element in what was repudiated was "the world.") So long as the world remained in the thrall of the evil one and Christian profession was merely nominal, the strictest Collegiants held that no true Christian could be a magistrate and conversely that no magistrate could be a Christian.[14] Nor might a Christian wage war or use capital punishment; indeed, a few Collegiants opposed the admission to the Lord's Supper of any who did either, though this attitude was too exclusive for the moderates among them. Hylkema finds a similar state of affairs among Friends, whose original excessively sharp condemnation of the amicable relationship usual between church and magistracy tended to grow more moderate under the influence of Robert Barclay. Such moderation, however, was often more apparent than real; for, while both Collegiants and Friends would recognize the authority of the law and obedience to magistracy as sound in principle and ideal, they always claimed the right to condemn existing laws and magistrates and in fact continued to do so. In this they went clean contrary to the common opinion, expressed by Hobbes, that the magistrate might claim unconditional obedience. When the government issued a proclamation forbidding their meeting, the reformer Daniel Zwicker issued a work in which he insisted that, on the contrary, Christians had the right to associate freely and to make free profession of their faith; while Crisp drew a shaming comparison with the Turks, who always allowed prisoners of war their freedom of faith. At the same time the Dutch millenarians such as Rothe insisted (like many of their English counterparts) that the fall of the present civil and ecclesiastical government, though involved in "the reign of the saints" which would herald Christ's return to earth, would be brought about without any resort to the sword or to violence.

In the Netherlands (as in England) the government was inclined to be more tolerant than were the orthodox ministers, who felt it to be their duty to urge the government to prosecute

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[14] This "converse," which is not always observed, may help to explain the great bitterness shown to magistrates by some early Friends, *e.g.* Thomas Aldam, for whom cf. my *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1948), ch. 2.

blasphemers and those who misled believers. It was at the request of ecclesiastical synods (for which there was not much opening in the England of the Commonwealth[15]) that in 1653 the States of Holland issued a proclamation against Socinians and those who printed or sold Socinian books, and that in 1662 the States of Friesland issued a similar proclamation against Socinians, Quakers, and Baptists. (The phrase "Socinians and Quakers," Hylkema remarks, is a hendiadys frequently to be found, and is not to be taken too exactly, any more than the phrase, which is roughly synonymous with it, "modern fanatics, enthusiasts and Socinians"; according to the request of the synod in 1662, the Socinians were, in fact, mostly to be found among the Baptists.[16]) Men were convinced of the necessity in general terms of the union of Church and State, and approved of severity in such a case as that of Adriaan Koerbach (who received a treatment comparable in its brutality with that shown to Nayler). They did not all agree, however, that the Reformed Church must necessarily be maintained; and the government can at times be seen to quell the ministers' persecuting zeal, as when in 1654 the States of Holland replied somewhat ironically to their request for action against Baptist congregations by urging them to more earnest catechizing, or when five times between 1662 and 1695 the States of Friesland refused to go beyond the proclamation of 1662. Crisp makes it clear[17] that there was in fact no persecution of Friends in Friesland between 1662 and 1670; and a whole series of Socinian works, including the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum,* edited by Kuyper, issued from the press at "Irenopolis," "Eleutheropolis," and other fictitious names barely concealing that of Amsterdam. Not without justification did foreigners cry, as Crisp allows, "Let us go to the Netherlands! There is freedom of conscience!"

In a brief conclusion to his first volume, Hylkema lays weight upon the reformers' individualism, both in their stress on

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[15] Cf., however, the petitions sent up to Parliament from the counties, often at the instigation of the ministers, and also the attacks made by John Owen and others on the Socinian, John Bidle, at precisely this time.

[16] In England also, however, Friends were regarded as unsound on the Trinity: cf. my note in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* XLII (1950), 75f.

[17] S. Crisp, *Uytroepinge,* I (1670), 22 f.

personal conversion and in their respect for freedom of thought and feeling, in independence of all authority, even (in some cases) that of the Bible: "everyone must himself be his own preacher." This led to a completely new conception of the Church and to a break with the Church as an existing and organized institution.

In his second volume Hylkema turns to consider in great detail, first, the reformers' ethical principles and practice, and, secondly, their piety, with special reference to reason and to feeling.

"Little children, love not the world." The moral law as normally obtaining the reformers regarded as worldly, and its most faithful observers as slaves of the world. All manner of wealth and luxury of clothing or furnishing fell under their condemnation. Simplicity should be observed at burials and by mourners. "A true Christian must not seek to become a rich merchant or a learned doctor, so that men give him influence or call him Sir," wrote Galenus, and Kuhlmann withdrew when on the point of taking his degree in law; he had already decided not to use it,[18] but in the end felt it better not even to take it. Isaac Furnier, one of William Ames' earliest Quaker converts,[19] scratched out the two hateful letters "Dr." from the doorpost of his house, and even published a book in which no capital letters were printed. This was going to extremes; but in general it was agreed that titles should be avoided. Christians should speak of one another in reference to the second birth and to what personal adornments *it* brings about. The Collegiants and Labadists therefore called one another "Brother" and "Sister" (as did the Independents in England), the Quakers "Friends," the Bourignonists "Mother" and "Children," all thus seeking to reverence (redeemed) humanity in men and that alone.

"Little children, love one another." The reformers' sense of equality and brotherhood (which, it may be argued, was less "democratic" than Hylkema supposes) had its source not only in

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[18] Cf. John Owen, *A Defence of Mr. John Cotton* (Oxford, 1658), pp. 98 f.: "And for that of Doctor; it was conferred on me by the University in my absence, and against my consent . . . nor doth anything but gratitude, and respect unto them make me once own it."

[19] For his later relapse into papistry and dissoluteness, cf. W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), p. 408; W. I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1941), pp. 193 ff.

their Christian humility but in their strong feeling of community with those within the household of faith. Full equality of goods or common ownership was exceptional. Barclay says explicitly that it is unnecessary. The only group which practised communism (and the experiment came to a tragic end) was that of the Labadists at Herford; and their motive was ebionite rather than communist, was more to restrain their own greed than to help the poor. In general, however, the reformers' community sense was keen, and extended across the borders of particular communions or countries: Galenus gave help to a Friend, Willem Gerrits, who had suffered imprisonment and the loss of his trade; and the Collegiants sent money to plague-stricken London in 1665, despite the state of war then obtaining between the Netherlands and England.[20] Their outgoing concern was also expressed (like that of Friends in England) in their propagandist missionary endeavors, Giftheil and Kuhlmann bearing their witness in Germany, England, Russia, and Turkey.

Galenus drank no wine, and many Collegiants refrained from it or at least drank it only in moderation. Some extended the ban to tea and coffee also. Their motive, however, was, once more, less altruistic than to mortify the flesh and to refrain from serving Mammon. Marriage fell under the suspicion of some reformers (as of some Friends in England and America[21]). Antoinette Bourignon repudiated it "for Christ's sake" and advised her "children," if married, to separate, allowing only a marriage in which all erotic impulse was quenched, and regarding a marriage as annulled if only one partner were converted. With others, she took over from Boehme the notion that at his first creation Adam was hermaphrodite.

"As a lamb led to the slaughter, so opened he not his mouth." "Defenselessness" or Christian forbearance was a characteristic of the Collegiants, as of the Quakers, and led them to the repudiation of war. Barclay held a just war to be, from the standpoint of the government, not wholly forbidden; but Kuyper, who wrote a book

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[20] Cf. the collections in England in 1655 for the persecuted Christians of the Savoy, to which Friends subscribed: cf. Penney's note in his edition of Fox's *Journal,* I, 458.

[21] Cf. the letters from Thomas Holme and Joseph Nicholson in my *Early Quaker Letters,* nos. 89, 264, 520, 536.

entitled *Recht weerelooze Christen,* regarded complete defenselessness and reliance on divine protection alone as essential to "the strait gate," while another reformer, Johannes Bredenburg, allowed interference with an attacker only when the attacker was beside himself in passion or drink, and even then only for the benefit of the attacker, not of the one attacked. Much blame was attributed to the last hundred and fifty years' trade with India and America and the consequent increase of luxury, and also to the discovery of gunpowder. In 1639 even the orthodox Baptists were warned not to engage too deeply in trade or to own ships carrying guns.

"God wants no slaves, but free children," said Antoinette Bourignon, who often had St. Augustine's "Love God and do as you please" on her lips. The reformers' abhorrence of the conception of service for reward tended to make them turn away altogether from ethics and the conception of duty, at least as primary. For them morality was not a condition but an effect of citizenship in the kingdom of God. The regenerate will fulfil Christ's moral demands not as the first step to perfection but because they can no other. It is not moral improvement which must be sought, any more than a return from "the world" to a "churchly" piety, but a complete renewal in the heart, from the point of view of which, indeed, "churchly" piety looks little different from "the world."

Hylkema's seventh and last chapter, on the reformers' piety, is of disproportionate length, for it runs to 350 pages. He first indicates some general characteristics, under six headings.

"What quaking was for the Quakers, tears were for the Collegiants." By the Collegiants prayer with tears was regarded as a gift of the new covenant; as expressive of the touched and broken heart within, it was a touchstone of genuine Christianity, the unmistakable outward witness of the Holy Spirit.[22] Tears, like quaking, did not, however, survive the first enthusiasm, and Kuyper is found warning against *appearing* to be in tears.[23]

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[22] Cf. the reference to William Penn's (and other Friends') tears in meeting for worship in my *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm,* p. 60.

[23] Cf. Philip Doddridge, *Works,* ed. E. Williams and E. Parsons (1802-5), V, 461: "if your tears will fall, do not restrain them; tho' they should never be forced."

"To obey is better than sacrifice." The reformers were united in their dislike of rites and ceremonies and observances, as normally practised in the Church. Kuyper (like some of the English Baptists) disapproved of communal singing at worship. Antoinette Bourignon claimed to have found inner light without the sacrament as well as with it, and corrected Cyprian's *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* to *il n'y a point de la salut hors de la charité [de Dieu];* and Galenus disapproved of excommunication as tending to exclude only the "open" sinners.

Characteristic of the Collegiants was their insistence that private judgment was their God-given right and that they must use their understanding freely and independently. A critic writing in 1701 could find no more suitable name for Galenus' party with their large theological tolerance than "Independents"—"who will be independent of any Christian confession."[24] Where Friends depended on "the light," the Collegiants depended on "conscience" or "reason."[25] The author of *Het Licht op den Kandelaar* (1662), which was attributed by some to a Quaker writer, by others to a Collegiant,[26] commends the seeking of the truth not to defend any presupposition but as beginning with a "blank paper"[27]; "Christ," "the Spirit," "the Word," "the Light" he treats as terms all synonymous with one another and also with human insight. Such questions as the inspiration of Scripture, the deity of Christ, the Trinity, original sin, divine prescience, and the substitutionary nature of Christ's sufferings were freely discussed by the reformers; as well as more practical questions such as those mentioned earlier, and whether women might speak in worship, attention being called to Titus ii, 3, in which "aged women" are described as "teachers." Although the Collegiants remained attached to the Bible and held it desirable to read it and meditate upon it two or three times

[24] This is part of the significance of the name "Independents" in the English scene.

[25] That "the light" was nothing more than "conscience" or "reason" was a constant charge of the Puritans against early Friends.

[26] Hylkema (I, 94, n. 96) provides a lengthy note on its authorship, which should be read with the discussion provided by Joseph Smith, *s. v.* Ames, and by W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam,* p. 214, n. 444.

[27] On the phrase "a white paper book," as used by Richard Farnworth, see my *Early Quaker Letters,* no. 35, with my note.

a day, they tended to bind not themselves to the Bible but the Bible to what they held true. Antoinette Bourignon went so far as to say, *Enseignée du St. Esprit, je n'ay besoin de lecture.* So much variety of opinion inevitably demanded a large degree of theological tolerance, to which the more orthodox Baptists objected; but alongside of intellectualism went the recognition that, if every man might share in the truth, then not learning but only an open heart and a clear spirit were necessary.[28]

The Reformers of the sixteenth century had distinguished between historical faith and saving faith,[29] between *credere* and *fidere;* but Galenus criticized them for crying "Confession, confession! Teaching, teaching!" and yet lacking the Christian virtues. Not for errors but for sins is man doomed.[30] There is no word in Scripture about sacraments or about three persons in one godhead; and where God's word is silent, rather than theologize, it is better to be silent too.[31] The reformers tended to emphasize the human, not the divine, in Jesus, and to conceive of the Holy Spirit less as a person than as a power going forth from God and working upon man. God has created man with an inclination to good; the inclination to evil comes from the devil. No less than the Quakers, who pointed to John i, 9, in defence of universalism, Antoinette Bourignon insisted that *Dieu veut sauver tous les hommes* and that the doctrine of divine predestination to damnation was *la plus pernicieuse doctrine, qu'il ayt en la chrétienté.*

Millenarian expectations colored the piety of the reformers in general, including Antoinette Bourignon, who wrote of *les derniers temps esquels nous vivons à present.* Even as late as 1674 a Latin work on the subject was translated into Dutch as *De Vijfde Monarchie.* The Quakers tended to think of the end to come (due

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[28] Cf. the Lollard position (according to Reginald Pecock) that to be "meke in spirit and willi forto vndirstonde" was the sole standard for the interpretation of Scripture.

[29] Cf. my *Holy Spirit,* p. 135.

[30] Cf. the Independents' *Apologeticall Narration* (1643), p. 12: "we took measure of no mans holinesse by his opinion."

[31] Cf. P. Doddridge, *Correspondence,* ed. J. D. Humphreys (1829-31) I, 335, on "that latitude of expression which the Scriptures indulge and recommend."

in forty-five years' time, according to Crisp[32]) not as a miracle from above but as the conquest of the world by Quakerism. The colonization of the New World owed something to this hope of a "new world" in the millenarian sense.

Hylkema then devotes 140 pages to discussing the place of reason in the reformers' piety, which he relates in turn to Cartesianism, Spinozism, and Socinianism, on the basis of careful analyses of works selected for his purpose. Socinianism was at this time widespread: as early as 1620 the theological faculty at Königsberg had complained that the heresy was in favor throughout the whole of Europe, to say nothing of Asia and Africa; but it worked like leaven, slowly: "in those days men's thoughts, too, traveled by barge." Among the Socinians the reformers' passion for freedom was combined with a passion for truth, producing a passion for simplicity, *inter alia* in reference to the Bible. The Bible was to be interpreted not by ecclesiastical authority (a Roman Catholic practice still common among Protestants, it was complained, though repudiated by them), nor by philosophy, nor by mystical meditation, but through itself, taken "reasonably": *e.g.* no one could suppose Christ was speaking literally when he called himself a door.[33] This does not mean that the reformers held supernatural manifestations to be in conflict with reason. In biblical interpretation they tended to "rationalize" the miracles, but they still held them to be miracles; and in contemporary religion they were firm believers in devils, Kuyper, a leading Socinian, writing a work entitled *Filosophisch en Historiaal Bewijs, dat er Duywelen zijn (Philosophical and Historical Proof that there are Devils).* This was not conservatism, as we are inclined to suppose; it was simply another expression of the new demand for realism in religion which marks all the reformers, in this case for the reality of the supernatural.

Turning finally to the place of feeling in the reformers' piety, Hylkema pays special attention to Friends, whom he regards as pantheistic mystics, "spiritual relatives of Spinoza." For source-material he draws heavily upon Kuyper's *Philosopherenden Boer,* which includes quotations from a hundred Dutch Quaker pamph-

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[32] *Alarum,* p. 40: on this forty-five-year period cf. my *Holy Spirit,* p. 110.

[33] Cf. G. Fox, *Journal,* ed. N. Penney, I, 325.

lets, along with the Dutch translation of the *Treasury* of John Everard, whom Kuyper calls "the forerunner and founder of Quakerism."[34] In distinction from the Socinians' sober biblical interpretation, the Quakers "spiritualized" the whole of Scripture. To them the history of the creation of the world, and the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ were nothing more than parables. *De heilsgeschiedenis was zielsgeschiedenis.* "Away with philosophy" was their watchword. "God has promised in the last days to make a covenant with his people, in which they shall all know him from the least to the greatest; have done with your disputations, and go to that within you which both accuses and excuses you, and then shall we have and feel God within ourselves": so speaks the Quaker in Kuyper's book, which takes the form of a dispute between a philosopher, a Quaker, and a peasant. "The kingdom of God is come and God's will is done, whenever Christ is come in your flesh, so that he lives in you and rules over you" (John Everard). Friends did not imitate the saints of old, but did as the Spirit worked within themselves. For them the devil was no more than the impersonal power of evil working within man. The unfortunate corollary seemed to be that Christ was no more than the impersonal power of good working within man; and the query was fairly put to them whether by God, the Lamb, the Light, the Word, Christ, they understoood one and the same thing, namely the light that lighteth everyman?

With Quaker teaching Hylkema compares that of a reformer named Jacob Bril, who expresses himself in similar language, though perhaps with more awareness than Friends possessed of the philosophic bearing of such teaching. He too undermined the uniqueness of the Jesus of history so far as to say that Christ has dwelt in countless persons before and after Jesus, and that there is no essential difference between Christians, Jews, Turks, and heathen, since all can have the New Testament, the Spirit, Christ, God, *in themselves,* no matter what their teaching or tradition is or what their sacred books are. Christ becomes man daily: when

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[34] On John Everard and his relation to Friends, cf. C. R. Simpson, in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* XLVII (1910), 493-502; R. M. Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 63 ff., 77 ff.; T. Sippell, *Werdendes Quäkertum* (Stuttgart, 1937), ch. I.

we are come to Christ, God will be revealed in the flesh, and we shall be Christ. In places Bril treats men's actions as not really performed by *themselves* in the highest sense and thus as morally indifferent; but he was saved from falling (with the English Ranters) into the dangerous implications of this position by preserving a dualism: "I know neither a fallible spirit nor an infallible man." A high morality is still necessary if moral heights are to be scaled.

Hylkema's final section is devoted to the influence of the teaching of Boehme upon the reformers. Some of Boehme's writings were translated into Dutch by an Amsterdam merchant in about 1640, at the time when the light of the new reformation was beginning to dawn[35]; but the first complete edition of his works, in German, was issued at Amsterdam in 1682 by Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710), the most renowned and significant Dutch representative of Boehmist theosophy. At one time he worked as proofreader for von Blauw, the publisher of many Dutch Quaker pamphlets, and at least once he was taken for a Quaker himself. His followers formed "clubs" (Hylkema's word) in several cities in the Netherlands, and among those influenced by him was the statesman Coenraad van Beuningen, whose sister was a disciple of Antoinette Bourignon.

According to Gichtel there is a trinity of worlds, of which everything consists and which interpenetrate one another; they have their centers in the inner man, and together they are God. Thus human life consists of flesh, mind, and light; or, alternatively, of body, soul, and spirit; which in turn correspond, respectively, to earthly life, soul or astral fire-life, and holy light-life or inner fire-life; though the second life, Hylkema observes, tends to be absorbed in either the first or the third, and the trinity thus to fall back into a Cartesian dualism of natural and regenerate man. In man's rebirth Jesus plays a part, but not the Jesus of history. For Gichtel the name Jesus, which he uses, does not stand for any historical figure, it represents the inward light-body composed of heavenly essence, or an inner power which may with equal aptness be called *Sophia.*

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[35] 1644 is the date of the beginning of the publishing of Boehme's writings in English: cf. my *Holy Spirit,* p. 16.

Hylkema's brief conclusion to his long work is, frankly, disappointing. Instead of drawing his threads together and attempting some critical assessment of the pattern which has emerged, he contents himself with defending his treatment of the reformers as a genuine group at all and, more particularly, his association of them in certain ways with the religious position of Spinoza, both of these points having received adverse criticism, it appears, after the publication of his earlier volume. The previous owner of my copy of Hylkema's work, who was evidently interested primarily in Spinoza, sharply questions Hylkema's references to Spinoza with repeated marginal comments; but for our present purpose Spinoza's relation to the reformers[36] is not of the first importance. The absence of a genuine conclusion to Hylkema's book is as regrettable as the absence of the appendices of further documentation. Every reader, however, must be grateful to him for the laborious and thorough manner in which, with full quotation and bibliographical detail, he has set out the theology, ecclesiology, piety, ethics, and social teaching of these radical reformers, and, among other services, for his presentation of early Quakerism in the Netherlands in its wider context. His book is in the succession of Robert Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* and Theodor Sippell's *Werdendes Quäkertum;* but it is abler and more clearly arranged than Barclay's book and it is considerably wider in scope than Sippell's. It is hoped that the present summary may assist towards a similar synoptic presentation of the scene in England and New England. Such a study would be of very great value.

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[36] On Spinoza's relation to Friends in the Netherlands, cf. W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam,* p. 205.

# DR. JOHNSON AND THE QUAKERS

By Helen Pennock South *

The renewal of interest in Dr. Samuel Johnson and his biographer caused by Colonel Isham's several acquisitions of Boswell papers and their purchase and publication by Yale University seems to justify the study of any segment of Johnson's wide and varied circle of friends. It has been noted by many, but especially by A. G. Matthews and G. F. Nuttall,[1] that the Doctor, although a stanch member of the Church of England, did have among his acquaintances and even close friends a number of Nonconformists, such as Thomas Gibbons and Henry Mayo, Congregationalist ministers. Usually intolerant of their views, he nevertheless admitted them to friendship, an attitude similar to that which he maintained toward a few members of the Society of Friends.

He had, as Boswell tells us, no love for the sect as such, but was fond of individual Quakers.[2] His acquaintance with Friends ranged from the little Quakeress of whom "he was much enamoured"[3] when he was a schoolboy at Stourbridge to the great painter, Benjamin West, later President of the Royal Academy.[4] I have been able to collect material on a dozen such associations,

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[1] "Dr. Johnson and the Nonconformists," *Congregational Historical Society Transactions,* XII (1936), 330-334.

[2] *The Life of Samuel Johnson,* ed. George Birkbeck Hill, revised by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), II, 458. References throughout are to this edition.

[3] Ibid., I, 92. Johnson wrote a poem to Olivia Lloyd, the young Quakeress, but Boswell said he had not been able to recover it. For further details about her see Aleyn Reade's *Johnsonian Gleanings,* Part III, pp. 159-160, where she is described as a young girl with a taste for the classics, youngest child of Sampson Lloyd and Mary Crowley Lloyd, and later the wife of Thomas Kirton. Her interest in Latin and Greek was passed on to her nephew, Charles Lloyd the philanthropist, whose son, Charles Lloyd the younger, was a minor poet and the friend of Charles Lamb. A portrait of Olivia still exists.

[4] George Birkbeck Hill, *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (New York, 1897), I, 131, n. 5; II, 426. Boswell, in *The Private Papers,* makes many references to West after the latter became President of the Royal Academy in 1792 on the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

several of which are especially revealing of certain angles of Johnson's personality.

As for actual Quaker influence on his thinking, I dare make no definite claim. The Doctor's independence of mind makes proof difficult, and yet in at least one case there is a possibility of it. Johnson's strong antislavery sentiments at an early date for this conviction may have been nurtured or at least strengthened by a Quaker friend who freed his own slaves in Tortola, at great personal cost. The story of the gradual awakening of the Quaker conscience with regard to slavery is familiar. It was five years after London Yearly Meeting passed its first formal minute against holding Negroes in bondage that Johnson expressed the same conviction. Boswell, in the *Life,* gives an argument dictated to him by Johnson in 1777 in favor of a Negro, Joseph Knight, then claiming his freedom in the Court of Session in Scotland. After an exposition on the legal and social conditions in Jamaica, Johnson concludes:

> The sum of the argument is this:—No man is by nature the property of another: The defendant is, therefore, by nature free. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can be justly taken away: That the defendant has by any act forfeited the rights of nature we require to be proved; and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free.[5]

Boswell adds an argument of his own *for* slavery, which, if it represents any widespread thinking in this period, makes Johnson's and the Quakers' opposition all the more striking. Says Boswell:

> To abolish a *status,* which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be *robbery* to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects; but it would be extreme cruelty to the African Savages, a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life; especially now when their passage to the West-Indies and their treatment there is humanely regulated. To abolish that trade would be to ". . . shut the gates of mercy on mankind."[6]

The Quaker friend of Johnson who has been mentioned as a possible influence against slavery was Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, born in the West Indies. He had a large practice in London and also

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[5] *Life,* III, 203. See also III, 212-214.
[6] Ibid., 204.

a large circle of friends, both Quaker and non-Quaker. Lettsom was the biographer of Dr. John Fothergill, founder of the well-known Quaker school at Ackworth.[7] As he grew older, Lettsom became increasingly important in London, being chief founder of the Medical Society in 1773, to which he gave a house in Bolt Court, not far from Johnson's home. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and took a leading part in promoting vaccination for small-pox, being the first to send Jenner's vaccine lymph across the Atlantic. Not only was he President of the Medical Society for a number of years, but toward the end of his life became President of the Philosophical Society.[8] Many allusions to him by Boswell in the *Private Papers* show that visits were frequent.[9] Dr. Lettsom was present at a famous dinner at which Johnson, the great moralist, was tricked into meeting John Wilkes, the notorious rake, but nothing he said was recorded by Boswell, perhaps because the latter was intent on the Johnson-Wilkes rapprochement. That Lettsom was well acquainted with Johnson is shown by his memoir of him, part of which I shall quote later.

Johnson could hardly have avoided knowing of his friend's early sacrifice for his antislavery principles. In 1767 Lettsom was called back to the West Indies to take possession of his family holdings. Most of the value was in Negro slaves, but he gave them their liberty, although he thus lost the main part of his inheritance. Later he wrote, "I could no longer withhold from them the natural privilege of freedom, which Heaven had conferred upon me. I never repented this sacrifice; indeed Heaven has cancelled it long

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[7] Johnson had at least an indirect association with Fothergill. When a national subscription was taken up for the relief of French prisoners captured in the war with America, Friends contributed more than a quarter of the total amount, and Dr. Fothergill, who gave liberally, acted as one of the committee for dispensing the fund. The published report of this charity carried a preface by Dr. Johnson, who spoke of the nobility of the work: "the relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection." R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends* (New York, 1919), p. 225.

[8] For a convenient account of Lettsom's career, see *Annals of Medical History,* New Series, I (1929), 1-12; also James J. Abraham, *Lettsom* (London, 1933).

[9] See Index to *Private Papers of James Boswell,* ed. Frederick A. Pottle (London and New York, 1937), *s.v.* Lettsom.

ago, by refunding innumerable blessings, and what I estimate still more gratefully, a heart to diffuse them."[10]

This action on the part of his Quaker friend, if it did not actually influence Johnson, must at least have supported his early inclinations toward justice for the slaves. There were, of course, others besides Quakers who spoke against slavery even at this date, and Johnson's mind may well have been early turned to the subject by the presence in his house of Frank Barber, a Negro ex-slave who became his servant in 1752; the father of Dr. Bathurst, a dear friend of Johnson, had brought Frank from Jamaica and then set him free.[11] Nevertheless, the Quaker convictions and actions of Dr. Lettsom deserve mention as of possible weight among the various factors concerned in Johnson's stand against slavery.

Two other Quakers had fairly close and amicable relations with Johnson. They were John Cator, co-trustee with him after Mr. Thrale's death, and Robert Barclay, who became a partner in the Thrale brewery after it was bought by David Barclay. Johnson thought well of both men, Nonconformist though they were. Boswell said Johnson "found a cordial solace at that gentleman's [Cator's] seat at Beckenham"[12] and chose most of his library for him. Johnson himself said, "Cator has a rough manly independent understanding and does not spoil it by complaisance. He never speaks merely to please and seldom is mistaken in things which he has any right to know. There is much good in his character and much usefulness in his knowledge."[13]

In Robert Barclay, great-grandson of the author of the *Apology,* Johnson seems to have taken an especially kindly interest, advising him not to discontinue his studies. "A mere literary man," said Johnson, "is a dull man; a man who is solely a man of business is a selfish man; but when literature and commerce are united, they make a respectable man."[14] Barclay said he "had never observed any rudeness or violence on the part of Johnson."[15] Not

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[10] Fox, p. 100.
[11] *Life,* I, 239, n. 1.
[12] Ibid., IV, 313.
[13] *Letters to Mrs. Thrale,* II, 284.
[14] *Johnsonian Miscellanies,* II, 389.
[15] Ibid.

many days before Johnson died, he said to the young man, "Have you any objection to receive an old man's blessing?" Barclay knelt and Johnson "gave him his blessing with great fervency."[16]

But there were other Quakers not so fortunate as Barclay in never observing rudeness or violence in Johnson. What a contrast is presented by the episode with the unknown Quaker told by Mrs. Thrale, but not by Boswell. As Joseph W. Krutch has said, "Johnson talked for victory,"[17] but the following account shows him not only in error, but displaying a really unpardonable rudeness in vanquishing the young man. Even Mrs. Thrale felt he had overstepped the mark. She relates the incident as follows:

> Two gentlemen, I perfectly well remember, dining with us at Streatham in the summer of 1782, when Elliot's brave defence of Gibraltar was a subject of common discourse, one of these men naturally enough begun some talk about red-hot balls thrown with surprizing dexterity and effect: which Dr. Johnson having listened some time to, "I would advise you, Sir" (said he with a cold sneer) "never to relate this story again: you really can scarce imagine how *very poor* a figure you make in the telling of it." Our guest being bred a Quaker, and I believe a man of an extremely gentle disposition, needed no more reproofs for the same folly: so if he ever did speak again, it was in a low voice to the friend who came with him. The check [snub] was given before dinner, and after coffee I left the room. When in the evening, however, our companions were returned to London, and Mr. Johnson and myself were left alone, with only our usual family about us, "I did not quarrel with those Quaker fellows," (said he, very seriously). "You did perfectly right," replied I, "for they gave you no cause of offence." "No offence!" (returned he with an altered voice;) "and is it nothing then to sit whispering together when *I* am present, without ever directing their discourse towards me, or offering me a share in the conversation?" "That was because you frightened him who spoke first about those hot balls." "Why, Madam, if a creature is neither capable of giving dignity to falsehood, nor willing to remain contented with the truth, he deserves no better treatment."[18]

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[16] Ibid., II, 390.

[17] *Samuel Johnson* (New York, 1944), p. 102.

[18] *Anecdotes* by Hester Lynch Piozzi, as quoted in *Johnsonian Miscellanies,* I, 242-243.

Evidently Johnson did not believe in the red-hot balls, but Horace Walpole wrote of this battle, quoting General Conway, "Before midnight all the famous batteries were either burnt or sunk by our red-hot balls."[19]

Before taking up the famous dialogue with Mrs. Knowles, I should like to show Johnson in the midst of a typical Quaker family, but again inclined to argue, though less rudely. He and Boswell were in Birmingham and had been trying to make calls, but with poor luck. They stopped at the home of Sampson Lloyd III, who was a nephew of the Olivia Lloyd whom Johnson had fancied as a youth in Stourbridge. Although Sampson Lloyd was out at the time, they received an invitation from his wife to return for supper. The *Private Papers* of Boswell tell us who was at the table and mention the eleven children, but the account is less polished than that in the *Life,* and therefore I shall use the latter version. Says Boswell:

> I have always loved the simplicity of manners, and the spiritual-mindedness of the Quakers; and talking with Mr. Lloyd, I observed that the essential part of religion was piety, a devout intercourse with the Divinity; and that many a man was a Quaker without knowing it.
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> As Dr. Johnson had said to me in the morning, while we walked together, that he liked individuals among the Quakers, but not the sect; when we were at Mr. Lloyd's, I kept clear of introducing any questions concerning the peculiarities of their faith. But I having asked to look at Baskerville's edition of *Barclay's Apology,* Johnson laid hold of it; and the chapter on baptism happening to open, Johnson remarked, "He says there is neither precept nor practice for baptism, in the scriptures; that is false." Here he was the aggressor, by no means in a gentle manner; and the good Quakers had the advantage of him; for he had read negligently, and had not observed that Barclay speaks of *infant* baptism; which they calmly made him perceive. Mr. Lloyd, however, was in as great a mistake; for when insisting that the rite of baptism by water was to cease when the *spiritual* administration of Christ began, he maintained that John the Baptist said, "*My baptism* shall decrease, but *his* shall increase." Whereas the words are, "*He* must increase, but *I* must decrease."[20]

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[19] Ibid., I, 242, n. 3.
[20] *Life,* II, 457-458.

The *Life* then continues with Johnson's argument for observances of days, months, and years in answer to the Quaker objection. Here he spoke reasonably, although the *Private Papers* tell us that he complained to Boswell that "the Quakers today willfully misquoted scripture"; but says the younger man, "I could not agree with him."[21] However, the visit shows for the most part the spirit of friendly argument rather than the overbearing quality which Johnson so frequently displayed.

No such moderation is found in the conversation with Mrs. Knowles about Jenny Harry, the Quaker convert. Mrs. Mary Knowles, wife of Dr. Thomas Knowles, was prominent in literary circles as well as in Quaker groups. She is generally remembered because of her embroidered picture of King George III, so cleverly done that it looked like an engraving.[22] She was an able conversationalist and frequently engaged in long talks with Johnson, with whom she seems to have been generally on amiable terms. Mrs. Knowles was the second Quaker mentioned by Boswell as present at Mr. Dilly's party for John Wilkes in 1776. She came in after the meal, but what she said—and she was not likely to have been silent — is not recorded, although Boswell recounts the following incident:

> Mr. Wilkes held a candle to shew a fine print of a beautiful female figure which hung in the room, and pointed out the elegant contour of the bosom with the finger of an arch connoisseur. He afterwards, in a conversation with me, waggishly insisted that all the time Johnson shewed visible signs of a fervent admiration of the corresponding charms of the fair Quaker.[23]

It was two years later, however, (April 15, 1778) that another party at Mr. Dilly's took place in which much of Mrs. Knowles' conversation is preserved by Boswell, but some import-

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[21] *Private Papers of James Boswell,* XI, 185.

[22] *Dictionary of National Biography.* Also Abraham, *Lettsom,* p. 69. Dr. Lettsom had known Mrs. Knowles as Mary (Molly) Morris, when he was an apprentice in Yorkshire. Ibid., p. 180. Johnson, in writing to Mrs. Thrale, spoke of Mrs. Knowles' needlework as "sutile pictures," but Mrs. Thrale, either accidentally or purposely, misread the compliment, making it "futile pictures." *Life,* III, 284, n. 4.

[23] *Life,* III, 78. For a portrait of Mrs. Knowles, see *Lady's Monthly Museum,* XI (1803), 289.

ant parts have apparently been suppressed, according to Anna Seward, who was present, and also according to Mrs. Knowles' own testimony. The first hours of the evening passed in general talk with some serious moments when Mrs. Knowles "affected to complain that men had much more liberty allowed them than women,"[24] and later, when the subject of friendship came up, Mrs. Knowles won her point by reminding the Doctor that "Our Savior had twelve Apostles, yet there was *one* whom he *loved.* John was called 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' " "Johnson (with eyes sparkling benignantly), 'Very well, indeed, Madam. You have said very well.' "[25]

The subject of horror at the thought of death was brought up by Boswell, whereat Mrs. Knowles did a little Quaker preaching on the hope of the righteous; but Johnson said, "No man can be sure that his obedience and repentance will obtain salvation." Mrs. Knowles: "But divine intimation of acceptance may be made to the soul." Johnson still maintained that man could not be sure, but the Quakeress quoted Scripture. Says Boswell, "Mrs. Knowles, (seeming to enjoy a pleasing serenity in the persuasion of benignant divine light), 'Does not St. Paul say, "I have fought the good fight of faith, I have finished my course; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of life?' "[26]

Anna Seward and others then entered the conversation, which drifted off to ghosts. At the next break in the talk, it evidently seemed to Mrs. Knowles a suitable time to make her plea for the Quaker convert, Jenny Harry, the natural daughter of a rich planter of Jamaica and a mulatto woman.[27] Neither her illegitimacy nor her small amount of Negro blood seemed to be held against this young girl, who was sent to England for her education. Nathaniel Sprigg (not Spry as Anna Seward reports) was her guardian, and she was much beloved by all and noticed favorably by Johnson. She had some artistic talent, which interested Sir

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[24] *Life,* III, 286-287.
[25] Ibid., III, 289-290.
[26] Ibid., III, 295.
[27] Joseph J. Green, "Jenny Harry, Later Thresher (circa 1756-1784)," *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* XLVII (1913), 559-582; XLVIII (1914), 43-62.

Joshua Reynolds sufficiently so that he lent her pictures to copy. But Jenny was finally condemned for becoming a Quaker.

In a letter to her father, which was not published until 1913, Jenny says that she came to have "no faith in the ceremonies of the Church of England, but that I looked upon them as the remains of Popery, though I had never been told so by anyone." She spoke to Mrs. Knowles first on the subject of becoming a Quaker, she says, and so Mrs. Knowles cannot be accused of proselytizing. Mrs. Knowles' reply seems so wise that I cannot resist quoting it.

> Jenny, there are good people of all denominations; it is not the name or the outward profession of any Religion that can make us good, but a steady adherence to that which is right in our own Consciences. Thou may'st be a very good girl professing the Religion of thy Education, as long as thou can'st be satisfied with it, but if thou can'st not, I would advise thee to have recourse to that inward light which will guide thee into all Truth.[28]

Miss Jenny not only consulted the "Inner Light" but read Barclay's *Apology,* and finally made her stand as a Quaker. After the break, for the Spriggs would no longer keep her, she lived with the Knowles family for a short time until a place was found for her as governess with the Lloyds at the "Farm," their country residence. This was the family of Sampson Lloyd III; therefore Jenny taught some of the children who sat around the table in 1776, when Johnson and Boswell made the visit mentioned in the earlier part of this paper.

Miss Seward, in her account of "that tremendous evening at Mr. Dilly's," tells something of Jenny Harry's background and the incident which led Mrs. Knowles to bring up the subject.

> Soon after she left her guardian's house, and boarded in that of Mrs. Knowles; to her she often observed, that Dr. Johnson's displeasure, whom she had seen frequently at her guardian's, and who had always appeared fond of her, was amongst the greatest mortifications of her then situation. Once she came home in tears, and told her friend she had met Dr. Johnson in the street, and had ventured to ask him how he did; but that he would not deign to answer her, and walked scornfully on. She added, "You are to meet him soon at Mr. Dilly's—plead for me."[29]

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[28] Ibid., XLVII, 567.

[29] Anna Seward, *Letters of Anna Seward,* ed. Archibald Constable (Edinburgh, 1811), I, 99.

And so Mrs. Knowles pleaded for her; but Johnson, feeling that Jenny was an apostate, lost all control of his temper and called a young and innocent girl who had made great sacrifice for the sake of conscience, "odious wench." In the *Life* Boswell concludes the episode by saying, "He [Johnson] then rose again into passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both the ladies seemed to be much shocked."[30] To this he appends a note saying that he had not printed Mrs. Knowles' version which she sent him when he was working on the *Life,* but that readers may find it in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1791. He mentions the many years that have passed and says that he has no recollection or record of what she recounts. Since he does offer a short report, we must conclude either that he did remember something or else that he is using Miss Seward's account which she claims he asked her to send him.[31] The version in the *Life* pretty well covers the first part of the dialogue, and Boswell's remark about Johnson's rising passion and attack on the convert "with the severest terms of reproach" would show that he knew there was more to the conversation. Anna Seward gave her account, which substantiates Mrs. Knowles' version up to the time of the dissertation on Quaker principles. Even this Miss Seward later acknowledges as occurring, although she did not record it.[32] Mrs. Knowles may have polished up her account a little, yet she was accustomed to explaining Quaker principles, as can be proved from Jenny Harry's letter, Mary Capper's *Diary,*[33] and several articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* I cannot think that she would have had as little to say on the conversion as Boswell records.

As for Miss Seward's reliability, it has been questioned by James L. Clifford[34] and others before him. I feel, nevertheless, that her testimony cannot be entirely discarded because she is known to have polished up her letters for publication and because the dates are sometimes inaccurate (usually within the month

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[30] *Life,* III, 299.

[31] Seward, *Letters,* I, 47-48.

[32] Ibid., II, 179-180. Letter dated October 19, 1788.

[33] *A Memoir of Mary Capper, Late of Birmingham* (London, 1847), pp. 8, 16.

[34] "The Authenticity of Anna Seward's Published Correspondence," *Modern Philology,* XXXIX (1941-42), 113 ff.

stated, however). I applied to the John Rylands Library in Manchester, hoping that the original letters recording the famous dialogue (one to Boswell, the other to Mrs. Mompessan — practically identical accounts) might be among the manuscripts of Miss Seward preserved in that library. They were not in the collection, nor did the Keeper of Manuscripts know of their existence elsewhere. We must therefore depend on the published forms.[35] Small inaccuracies will not invalidate Miss Seward's support. That her account was written before the *Life* was published cannot be questioned by anyone who reads her references to her "minutes" in letters to other friends, letters dated in the eighties.[36]

Although the authenticity of the Dialogue between Johnson and Mrs. Knowles has often been under debate, I believe the three versions have not been collated. Since articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* following the publication of Mrs. Knowles' letter show that her version was generally accepted as genuine, the reader should have the chance to see what support Mrs. Knowles has. I have, therefore, printed her account in its original order and used the versions of Boswell and Seward to confirm it. However, all material from the other two is included whether given by Mrs. Knowles or not. I have been obliged to change the order of Miss Seward's account slightly so that the parallels could be noted. Since Boswell's version is much shorter than the others, I shall not try to print it in a parallel column, but shall present it first. The reader will note that it supports the general line of argument and also the anger of Johnson as expressed in such terms as "odious wench."

> Mrs. Knowles mentioned, as a proselyte to Quakerism, Miss ————, a young lady well known to Dr. Johnson, for whom he had shewn much affection; while she ever had, and still retained, a great respect for him. Mrs. Knowles at the same time took an opportunity of letting him know "that the amiable young creature was sorry at finding that he was offended at her leaving the

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[35] Letter to Mrs. Mompessan, Seward, op. cit., I, 97 ff. A letter to Boswell containing a practically identical account of the conversation is preserved in the *Diary of Edward Pease,* ed. Sir Alfred E. Pease (London, 1907), pp. 383-386.

[36] Seward, op. cit., I, 97 ff. (to Mrs. Mompessan, December 31, 1785); I, 46, 111 (to Mrs. Knowles, March 27, 1785 and January 19 & 25, 1786); II, 179-180 (to Miss Williams, October 19, 1788).

> Church of England and embracing a simpler faith;" and, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner, solicited his kind indulgence for what was sincerely a matter of conscience. Johnson, (frowning very angrily,) "Madam, she is an odious wench. She could not have any proper conviction that it was her duty to change her religion, which is the most important of all subjects, and should be studied with all care, and with all the helps we can get. She knew no more of the Church which she left, and that which she embraced, than she did of the difference between the Copernican and Ptolemaick systems." Mrs. Knowles. "She had the New Testament before her." Johnson. "Madam, she could not understand the New Testament, the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required." Mrs. Knowles. "It is clear as to essentials." Johnson. "But not as to controversial points. The heathens were easily converted, because they had nothing to give up; but we ought not, without very strong conviction indeed, to desert the religion in which we have been educated. That is the religion given you, the religion in which it may be said Providence has placed you. If you live conscientiously in that religion, you may be safe. But errour is dangerous indeed, if you err when you choose a religion for yourself." Mrs. Knowles. "Must we then go by implicit faith?" Johnson. "Why, Madam, the greatest part of our knowledge is implicit faith; and as to religion, have we heard all that a disciple of Confucius, all that a Mahometan, can say for himself?" He then rose again into passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both the ladies seemed to be much shocked.[37]

After these details it is odd that Boswell should say, when Mrs. Knowles sent him her Dialogue, "I had not the least recollection of it, and did not find the smallest trace of it in my *Record* taken at the time.[38] The above is certainly more than the "smallest trace." Whether Boswell remembered all the details or not, or whether he was remodeling Miss Seward's report, his account lends credence to the versions by the main speaker and by a listener who claims to have taken notes.[39]

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[37] *Life,* III, 298-299.
[38] Ibid., III, 299, n. 2.
[39] Seward, op. cit., I, 100.

MRS. KNOWLES' VERSION [40]

Mrs. K. Thy friend Jenny H—desires her kind respects to thee, Doctor.

Dr. J. To *me*!—tell me not of her! I hate the odious wench for her apostacy: and it is you, Madam, who have seduced her from the Christian Religion.

Mrs. K. This is a heavy charge, indeed. I must beg leave to be heard in my own defence; and I entreat the attention of the present learned and candid company, desiring they should judge how far I am able to clear myself of so cruel an accusation.

Dr. J. (much disturbed at this unexpected challenge) said, You are a woman, and I give you quarter.

Mrs. K. I will not take quarter. There is no sex in souls; and in the present cause I fear not even Dr. Johnson himself.

("Bravo!" was repeated by the company, and silence ensued.)

Dr. J. Well then, Madam, I persist in my charge that you have seduced Miss H—from the Christian Religion.

Mrs. K. If thou really knewest what were the principles of the Friends, thou would'st not say she had departed from Christianity. But, waving that discussion for the present, I will take the liberty to observe that she had an undoubted right to examine and to change her educational tenets whenever she supposed she had found them erroneous: as an accountable creature, it was her duty to do so.

ANNA SEWARD'S VERSION [41]

It [the conversation] commenced with Mrs. Knowles saying, —'I am to ask thy indulgence, Doctor, towards a gentle female to whom thou usedst to be kind, and who is uneasy in the loss of that kindness. Jenny Harry weeps at the consciousness that thou wilt not speak to her.'

'Madam, I hate the odious wench, and desire you will not talk to me about her.'

'Yet what is her crime, Doctor?'

'Apostacy, Madam; apostacy from the community in which she was educated.'

'She has not done so; the name and the faith of Christians are not denied to the sectaries.'

'If the name is not, the common sense is.'

'I will not dispute this point with thee, Doctor, at least at present; it would carry us too far.

'Surely the quitting one community for another cannot be a crime, if it is done from motives of conscience.

[40] *The Gentleman's Magazine,* June, 1791, p. 500 ff. Also printed in *The Lady's Monthly Museum,* XI (1803), 290.

[41] Miss Seward's letter to Mrs. Mompessan. Seward, op. cit., I, 100 ff., under date of December 31, 1785.

Dr. J. Pshaw! pshaw!—an accountable creature!—girls accountable creatures! —It was her duty to remain with the Church wherein she was educated; she had no business to leave it.

Mrs. K. What! not for that which she apprehended to be better? According to this rule, Doctor, hadst thou been born in Turkey, it had been thy duty to have remained a Mahometan, notwithstanding Christian evidence might have wrought in thy mind the clearest conviction; and, if so, then let me ask, how would thy conscience have answered for such obstinacy at the great and last tribunal?

Dr. J. My conscience would not have been answerable.

Mrs. K. Whose then would?

Dr. J. Why the State, to be sure. In adhering to the Religion of the State as by law established, our implicit obedience therein becomes our duty.

Mrs. K. A Nation, or State, having a conscience, is a doctrine entirely new to me, and, indeed, a very curious piece of intelligence; for I have always understood that a Government, or State, is a creature of time only; beyond which it dissolves, and becomes a nonentity. Now, Gentlemen, can your imaginations body forth this monstrous individual, or being, called a State, composed of millions of people? Can you behold it stalking forth into the next world, loaded with its mighty conscience, there to be rewarded, or punished, for the faith, opinions, and conduct of its constituent machines called men? Surely the teeming brain of Poetry never held up to the fancy so wonderous a personage!

'Suppose it granted that, in the mind of a young girl, the weaker arguments appeared the strongest, her want of better judgment should excite thy pity, not thy resentment.'

'Madam, it has my anger and my contempt, and always will have them.'

[Mrs. Knowles continuing] 'Hadst thou been educated in the Romish church, I must suppose thou wouldst have abjured its errors, and that there would have been merit in the abjuration.'

'Madam, if I had been educated in the Roman Catholic faith, I believe I should have questioned my right to quit the religion of my fathers;

(When the laugh occasioned by this personification was subsided, the Doctor very angrily replied,) I regard not what you say as to that matter. I hate the arrogance of the wench, in supposing herself a more competent judge of religion than those who educated her. She imitated you, no doubt; but she ought not to have presumed to determine for herself in so important an affair.

Mrs. K. True, Doctor, I grant it, if, as thou seemest to imply, a wench of 20 years be not a moral agent.

Dr. J. I doubt it would be difficult to prove those deserve that character who turn Quakers.

Mrs. K. This severe retort, Doctor, induces me charitably to hope thou must be totally unacquainted with the principles of the people against whom thou art so exceedingly prejudiced, and that thou supposest us a set of Infidels or Deists.

Dr. J. Certainly, I do think you little better than Deists.

Mrs. K. This is indeed strange; 'tis passing strange, that a man of such universal reading and research has not thought it at least expedient to look into the cause of dissent of a society so long established, and so conspicuously singular.

Dr. J. Not I, indeed! I have not read your Barclay's *Apology*,[42] and for this plain reason — I never thought it worth my while. You are upstart Sectaries, perhaps the best subdued by a silent contempt.

Mrs. K. This reminds me of the language of the Rabbies of old, when their Hierarchy was alarmed by the increasing influence, force, and simplicity of dawning Truth, therefore well may I hate the arrogance of a young wench who sets herself up for a judge on theological points, and deserts the religion in whose bosom she was nurtured.'

[42] Johnson had at least opened the book. See episode at the home of the Lloyds as related above.

in their high day of worldly dominion. We meekly trust, our principles stand on the same solid foundation of simple truth, and we invite the acutest investigation. The reason thou givest for not having read Barclay's *Apology* is surely a very improper one for a man whom the world looks up to as a Moral Philosopher of the first rank; a Teacher from whom they think they have a right to expect much information. To this expecting, enquiring world, how can Dr. Johnson acquit himself for remaining unacquainted with a book translated into five or six different languages, and which has been admitted into the libraries of almost every Court and University in Christendom!

(Here the Doctor grew very angry, still more so at the space of time the gentlemen insisted on allowing his antagonist wherein to make her defence, and his impatience excited one of the company, in a whisper, to say, "I never saw this mighty lion so chafed before!")

Mr. Boswell whispered me, 'I never saw this mighty lion so chafed before.'

The Doctor again repeated that he did not think the Quakers deserved the name of Christians.

Mrs. K. Give me leave then to endeavour to convince thee of thy error, which I will do by making before thee, and this respectable company, a confession of our faith. Creeds, or confessions of faith, are admitted by all to be the standard whereby we judge of every denomination of professors.

(To this, everyone present agreed; and even the Doctor grumbled out his assent.)

Mrs. K. Well then, I take upon me to declare that the people called

[From Miss Seward's letter to Miss Williams,[43]] I am glad you

[43] Seward, op. cit., II, 179-180. Letter dated October 19, 1788.

Quakers do verily believe in the Holy Scriptures, and rejoice with the most full and reverential acceptance of the divine history of facts, as recorded in the New Testament. That we, consequently, fully believe those historical articles summed up in what is called the Apostles' Creed, with these two exceptions only, to wit, our Saviour's descent into Hell, and the resurrection of the body. These mysteries we humbly leave just as they stand in the holy text, there being, from that ground, no authority for such assertion as is drawn up in the Creed. And now, Doctor, canst thou still deny to us the honourable title of Christians?

Dr. J. Well! — I must own I did not at all suppose you had so much to say for yourselves.

and Dr. M. like my Johnsonian conversation. But Mrs. K. is curiously dissatisfied with that tract, because it does not record a long theologic dispute, which succeeded to what I *did* put down, and in which she ably defended the Quaker principles from the charge of deism and absurdity, which the Doctor brought against them. She fancies that she appears in a poor eclipsed light on this same manuscript, because she there opposes only strong, calm, and general reasoning to the sophistic wit of her antagonist.

(Miss Seward's narrative continued, Mrs. Knowles speaking.) 'Consider, Doctor, she must be *sincere*.—Consider what a noble fortune she has sacrificed.'

'Madam, Madam, I have never taught myself to consider that the association of folly can extenuate guilt.'

'Ah! Doctor, we cannot rationally suppose that the Deity will not pardon a defect in judgment (supposing it should prove one) in that breast where the consideration of serving him, according to its idea, in spirit and truth, has been a preferable inducement to that of worldly interest.'

'Madam, I pretend not to set bounds to the mercy of the Deity; but I hate the wench, and shall ever hate her. I hate all impudence; but the impudence of a chit's apostacy I *nauseate*.'

However, I cannot forgive that little slut, for presuming to take upon herself as she has done.

'Jenny is a very gentle creature.—She trembles to have offended her parent, though far removed from his presence; she grieves to have offended her guardian, and she is sorry to have offended Dr. Johnson, whom she loved, admired, and honored.'

'Why, then, Madam, did she not consult the man whom she pretends to have loved, admired, and honoured, upon her newfangled scruples? If she looked up to that man with any degree of the respect she professes, she would have supposed his ability to judge of fit and right, at least equal to that of a raw wench just out of her primmer'[44] [sic]

'Ah! Doctor, remember it was not from amongst the witty and the learned that Christ selected his disciples, and constituted the teachers of his precepts. Jenny thinks Dr. Johnson great and good; but she also thinks the gospel demands and enjoins a simpler form of worship than that of the established church; and that it is not in wit and eloquence to supersede the force of what appears to her a plain and regular system, which cancels all typical and mysterious ceremonies, as fruitless and even idolatrous; and asks only obedience to its injunctions, and the ingenuous homage of a devout heart.'

'The homage of a fool's-head, madam, you should say, if you will pester me about that ridiculous wench.'

'If thou choosest to suppose her ridiculous, thou canst not deny that she has been religious, sincere, disinterested. Canst thou believe that

[44] Could we have here a bit of injured pride causing Johnson to lash out at the girl who had failed to ask his advice?

the gate of Heaven will be shut to the tender and pious mind, whose first consideration has been that of apprehended duty?'

'Pho, pho, Madam, who says it will?'

'Then if Heaven shuts not its gate, shall man shut his heart?—If the Deity accept the homage of such as sincerely serve him under every form of worship, Dr. Johnson and this humble girl will, it is to be hoped, meet in a blessed eternity whither human animosity must not be carried.'

'Madam, I am not fond of meeting fools anywhere; they are detestable company, and while it is in my power to avoid conversing with them, I certainly shall exert that power; and so you may tell the odious wench whom you have persuaded to think herself a saint, and of whom you will, I suppose, make a preacher; but I shall take care she does not preach to *me*.'

Mrs. K. I hope, Doctor, thou wilt not remain unforgiving; and that *you* will renew *your* friendship, and joyfully meet at last in those bright regions where Pride and Prejudice can never enter!

Dr. J. Meet her! I never desire to meet fools anywhere.

(This sarcastic turn of wit was so pleasantly received that the Doctor joined in the laugh; his spleen was dissipated; he took his coffee, and became, for the remainder of the evening, very chearful [sic] and entertaining.)

It will be noted that Mrs. Knowles in writing her account was primarily interested in her Quaker testimony, whereas Miss Seward was particularly impressed with the pathos of the young girl's situation. Nevertheless, she corroborates so many points made by Mrs. Knowles that the modern reader cannot toss aside, as did Boswell, this Quaker account of a famous conversational duel.

Miss Seward records a longer concluding speech by Johnson with a reference to Jenny as a preacher: "but I shall take care she does not preach to *me*." Perhaps Mrs. Knowles tactfully omitted this remark, but it was at least in keeping with Johnson's earlier

comment to Boswell when the latter described attending a Quaker Meeting and hearing a woman preach. Said Johnson, "Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog's walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well; but you are surprized to find it done at all."[45] I have not been able to discover any evidence that Johnson ever went to a Quaker Meeting, nor should I expect to, since he claimed never to have entered a "dissenting chapel." [46] Boswell, however, went often and found comfort there. Among the many references in the *Private Papers* are such notes as "calm and pious impressions" and "quiet, mild communication with Heaven in a Quaker meeting."[47]

The Knowles dialogue was followed by a number of articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1791. Curiously enough, the discussions were not on the authenticity of the conversation, but either upbraided Johnson for his injustice, or attacked or defended the Quaker principles disclosed in the account. Since consideration of the latter is outside the bounds of this paper, I shall only say that there were some three attacks and as many spirited answers, concluding with a poem by a woman in which what the Quakers believe is itemized, one line stating, "The resurrection they do not deny."[48] Although the poem is signed Oxonia, I suspect the hand of Mrs. Knowles, who had already written a poetic answer to a poetic challenge by Thomas Morris on Quaker dress.[49] I think it might be only natural for Mrs. Knowles to wish to sum up her side of a controversy which she started that "tremendous evening" at Dilly's. Moreover, she may have wanted to clarify her point on the resurrection, distinguishing between that of the body and that of the soul.

The most interesting letter to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was one in defense of Jenny Harry. Since the writer expresses his opinion of Johnson in vivid terms, the document

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[45] *Life,* I, 463.

[46] *Congregational Historical Society Transactions,* XII, 330.

[47] *Private Papers,* XIII, 10.

[48] *Gentleman's Magazine,* LXI (Pt. II), 1223.

[49] Ibid., LXI (Pt. II), 948-949. Captain Morris, author of some odes on Liberty, refers to Mrs. Knowles as "the Lady who subdued that Goliath of literature, Doctor Samuel Johnson."

should be rescued from oblivion and offered as a sequel to Johnson's tirade against the Quaker convert.

Mr. Urban:

After the many *caricaturas* of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson that have been exhibited to the publick through the *media* of his friends and enemies, you have at length obliged us with what seems to me a true portrait of him, see p. 500 [the Knowles dialogue]. The writer of this [the present letter] knew Dr. J., is acquainted with Mrs. Knowles, and loved and respected Jenny H., and cannot help wishing that some of the company would let the world know who formed the whole group, and whether any other person among them took part in the conversation. But as, perhaps, none of them may chuse to stand forth in such a business, I shall give my reasons for the expressions made use of above, in calling this dialogue a *true portrait.* How does the Doctor appear in it? A mixture of arrogance and dogmatism, possessed, or willing to make his auditors believe he was possessed, of superior knowledge, by a kind of intuition; for, in the dispute, he controverts the opinion of his adversary, not by reason and argument, but by ill manners and insolence; and freely owns that he condemns Quakerism, and its professors, whom he styles little better than Deists, without having ever looked into the best writers on the subject, or indeed, without knowing any of their tenets. Now, Sir, if this is not a true picture of the Doctor, I know not where we shall find one; I can, at least, aver it corresponds exactly with whatever I have met in his company, though I was not present when the dialogue took place between Mrs. K. and him. I deny not that, occasionally, the Doctor was a man of pleasant conversation; but it was when the stream ran according to his mind, and he met with no opposition; for the least impediment threw him into that strain of overbearing language in the dialogue now alluded to, and which was continually increased by the adulating compliments paid him by those persons who hung about him, and seemed to imagine their own merits rose in proportion as they puffed up those of the Doctor.

Your present correspondent is no Quaker, and condemns their forms, though in many instances he approves their tenets; but why the name of J. H. should have been branded with epithets of wench and slut, when the Doctor knew her to be of excellent morals and virtuous character, is not easily comprehended, unless it be to shew his detestation of every person and thing that differed from him: a temper not very philanthropic or philosophical, but which exactly agrees with him, and proves the verisimilitude of the portrait. That Mrs. K. was the means of converting (I do not say perverting) the mind of J. H. to

> Quakerism can hardly be doubted by those who knew all circumstances of that time, and not much to be wondered at, when the abilities of the one, and the easy good-natured disposition of the other, are considered; but this I can say, to the day of her death the little convert (for she is no more) continually expressed the high satisfaction she felt in the religious opinions she had embraced, though she often regretted the anxiety the change in her sentiments had caused among some of her good friends.
>
> I little thought the wife of a surgeon in a country town (for such J. H. at length became) would have been brought thus into public view; but this pen was taken up to defend her memory from any reflexion that may be cast upon it, and to shew that no learning or abilities can justify obloquy or ill manners.
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> Yours, etc.,
> M. S.[50]

Another link between Dr. Johnson and the Quakers is to be found in his friendship with John Scott, a Quaker whom he visited in his home at Amwell, Hertfordshire. Although Johnson spoke rather condescendingly of Scott's *Elegies* ("They are very well; but such as twenty people might write"[51]), he was fond of his friend, and at the latter's death in 1783, consented to write a sketch of Scott's life to accompany his *Essays,* but did not accomplish it before his own death the following year.[52]

The elder brother of John was Samuel Scott (also settled at Hertford), whose diary contains an interesting comment on Johnson's religious attitude as his death approached. Already an unsupported rumor had been started through John Newton, William Cowper, and others that Johnson had undergone an evangelical conversion as his life drew to a close.[53] Now we find Samuel Scott ascribing to Johnson what seems like a Quaker religious experience. However it is a natural human tendency to hope that a great man has turned to your own faith in his last moments, and Samuel Scott was an earnest man and a Quaker preacher. Although the reference to the Inner Light may be only wishful thinking, the

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[50] Ibid., LXI (Pt. II), 700 ff.

[51] *Life,* II, 351.

[52] *Dictionary of National Biography,* XVII, 980. The life of John Scott was later written by John Hoole, who had introduced him to Johnson.

[53] Maurice J. Quinlan, "The Rumor of Dr. Johnson's Conversion," *Review of Religion,* XII (1948), 243-261.

account is an interesting sidelight from a contemporary. And not even the Quakers claim any monopoly on "internal emanations of divine light."

Under date of Eighth Month (August) 26, 1785, Samuel Scott writes:

> I also purchased a copy of the prayers and meditations of that renowned man in the republic of human literature, the late Dr. Samuel Johnson: who, notwithstanding his being generally esteemed for the strength of his genius, and the indefatigability of his researches, but likewise for the rectitude of his heart and the propriety of his conduct; who, notwithstanding his strong attachment to an exterior establishment, and an hireling and sin-soothing ministry, and, as there is reason to believe, his being inconversant in works of an inward, spiritual, and soul-awakening tendency; was *by the internal emanations of divine light, favored to see, and bitterly bewail, his own defects and shortness in that purity, which is required by the gospel of Christ.* May none, who enjoy superior privileges and more advantages of spiritual improvement, "quench the Spirit," and stifle the *inward convictions of that divine light,* which can only show them the sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness and deceit of their own heart.[54]

In the earlier part of this paper I mentioned Dr. Lettsom, the Quaker physician and friend of Johnson who may have strengthened the latter's antislavery stand. Dr. Lettsom wrote an analysis of Johnson which shows a careful estimate of both good and bad traits. This Quaker was not present at the conversation over Jenny Harry, or he might have conceded the great man's rudeness on this occasion. Lettsom's thoughtful, calm analysis seems a suitable conclusion for this study of Johnson and the Quakers.

"He [Johnson] was a pious man; attached, I confess, to an established system, but it was from principle. In company I neither found him austere nor dogmatical; he was certainly not polite, but he was not rude; he was familiar with suitable company; but his language in conversation was sententious; he was sometimes jocular, but you felt as if you were playing with a lion's paw. His body

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[54] Professor Henry J. Cadbury has kindly called my attention to this passage on Johnson found in Samuel Scott's *Diary (The Friends' Library,* ed. William and Thomas Evans [Philadelphia, 1845], IX, 402). Scott's *Diary* was first published in London in 1809. The italics are mine.

was large, his features strong, his face scarred and furrowed with the scrophula; he had a heavy look; but when he spoke it was like lightning out of a dark cloud. With a capaciousness of mind and some inequalities in it, like his face, he resembled a Colossus, which, like that of Rhodes, embraced the whole sea of literature, affording awe and distance rather than esteem and social friendship: his will evinced the narrowness of his friendships; and from some of his writings, one may discern a sternness from disappointment rather than from philosophy. His *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia,* was perhaps his own picture: and it inculcates apathy to the world, rather than happiness in it. Upon the whole he seems not to have been a happy man; his religion was rigid rather than social; and his mind warped by system, rather than humanised by virtue and truth. But who is perfect?"[55]

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[55] Abraham, *Lettsom,* p. 181.

# HIRAM MENDENHALL AND THE UNION HOME COMMUNITY*

By Willard C. Heiss

The first reference that I ever found concerning a community experiment at Unionport, Indiana, was a sentence in Ebenezer Tucker's *History of Randolph County, Indiana:* "John O. Wattles lectured in this region, and induced a company to form a community in 1840." This was about the sum total of information known to me for many years. The lack of available accounts from old residents who could have supplied me with second-hand knowledge but did not choose to do so increased my interest. This reluctance, it eventually came out, was due to misinformation and faulty understanding of what actually happened.

Hiram Mendenhall (1801-1852) was a Hicksite Quaker, who removed with his family from Warren County, Ohio, to Randolph County, Indiana, in the spring of 1836. At about the same time, his father and several of his brothers and their families removed and settled on or near Cabin Creek, where Unionport now is. The Mendenhalls, including Hiram, were millwrights, and built several mills on Cabin Creek.

In March of 1837, Hiram Mendenhall laid out the town of Unionport. The town never prospered and is yet today barely more than a wide place in the road.

In the spring of 1838 there was a rather unusual petition made to the county commissioners, apparently at the instigation of Hiram Mendenhall. This proposal created a new township four miles square, out of the northern part of West River and the southwestern part of White River Townships, to be called Union Township. Unionport would have been the center of this area. The commissioners ordered an election of officials and appointed Hiram Mendenhall as the Inspector of Elections. This "brought about a storm of opposition which resulted in Miles Hunt and

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*This article, a summary of a talk given to the Randolph County Historical Society at Winchester, Indiana, December 27, 1953, forms a useful supplement to Thomas Bassett's "Quakers and Communitarianism" in the previous number of the Bulletin.

others" of the Huntsville locality presenting a remonstrance to the commissioners voicing their opposition. "This question received a great deal of attention in the neighborhood and caused the commissioners quite a little of concern, so much so, that the election provided for was not held; and in January of 1839, it was ordered that Union Township be dissolved."

Why Hiram Mendenhall wanted to create such a tiny township is unknown to this writer. It was at this same time, the summer of 1838, that Mendenhall was running for the office of State Representative and was opposed and defeated by Miles Hunt. Following the election, Mendenhall published a letter to the voters, in which he denies a "statement made by Miles Hunt, that I signed a petition to the legislature, praying that the colored population might be entitled to the right of suffrage." This writer holds one theory that because of Mendenhall's great interest in the slavery question, he may have had a notion of creating a settlement for ex-slaves. However, it may be that even at that early date he was envisioning a utopia and thought to create a township where things could be run much to his own liking.

In October of 1842 occurred what has been Hiram Mendenhall's heretofore great claim to fame. As an active Abolitionist he was in Richmond at the time of the visit of Henry Clay and was by chance the one who handed Clay the famed petition calling upon him to emancipate his slaves. This incident has received wide notice and there is no reason to introduce it into this account.

Early in 1844 Mendenhall moved to Wayne County, Indiana. He had been very active in getting the Whitewater Canal extended from Cambridge City to Hagerstown. He was awarded the contract for completing the canal, the first half mile south of Hagerstown. It is likely that he hoped to continue the canal up through Randolph County, possibly by the way of Unionport. There is indication that some consideration was given this project. While resident in Wayne County, he entered his name on the ballot of the Liberty Party as candidate for the State Senate; but he was declared ineligible as he had not resided long enough in the county. This was his last effort to run for public office.

Hiram Mendenhall lived his mature years in one of the most interesting periods of history: America of the 1830's and 1840's. This was a time, particularly here in the reaches of the Ohio, of a

new and rapidly expanding civilization. Standards of education may not have been high, but by comparison they were much higher than England and most other countries. To have survived on these fringes of the frontier, it was necessary to have a keen intelligence. But equally important were the strong and robust bodies needed to turn the forests and prairies into the "fruited plain." One would assume that the problems of raising crops and families would have left little time for contemplation of a more profound nature.

This was a time when every man claimed the right to think, and to think extravagantly and inconsequentially, as he chose. It was inevitable that a large amount of the thinking, though vigorous, was crude and undisciplined. With this freedom of mind went an unfettered tongue. When the men of this period realized the limitation of the spoken word, they turned to the pen and pamphlets. The newspapers bulged with "letters to the editor." If the editor was not sympathetic, a press was hired and the message sent throughout the land by newspaper or periodical.

Among the people whose conversation went beyond the farm and fireside the discussion was usually limited to religion and politics. However, there was a large minority whose thoughts knew no bounds. These were times when there was a great interest in what was known as the "popular Reforms of the day." There were crusades against Alcohol, Tobacco, Pork, Slavery, or any product produced by the slave. There were those who believed in Phrenology, Mesmerism, Water-cures, Thompsonianism, or that the end of the world was at hand as proposed by William Miller. Peace societies were formed, societies for Penal Reform, Women's Rights and so on to where the mind knoweth not the limit. As a result of many of these "radical" ideas, there have been changes in our laws and society that are most creditable, though many of the ideas now, as then, were nebulous.

If there was a warp to the fabric of the "popular Reforms of the day," it was Abolitionism. Almost without exception the reformer was at least sympathetic to that cause. Of the antislavery proponents, the more extreme element were followers of Garrison. It was in this following, in Ohio and Indiana, that there evolved an idea, which in effect was: that if they could free all humanity

and reform it, then all problems would be solved, including the Slavery Question.

Throughout Indiana and Ohio were a number of Hicksite Quakers who were dabbling in reforms in general, devotees of Garrison in particular. As early as 1835, Joseph A. Dugdale wrote Garrison: "I am really disgusted with the course pursued by some *half-way* immediatists . . ." (italics mine). In the spring of 1841, George F. White, a Hicksite minister, delivered a sermon at the Rose Street Meetinghouse in New York City. In the sermon he damned anyone who was a member of the "temperance, non-resistance, and anti-slavery societies . . . and then proceeded to speak of them as hypocrites, blasphemers, &c." Friends in Ohio, aghast at the charge, met on Fifth Month 3, 1841 at Cortsville and published "A Disclaimer." In this they replied that, "We feel bound . . . to utter publicly our solemn protest against such charges . . . ." As a result of all this there was formed the Greenplain Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends. This body was sympathetic to *all* the "popular Reforms of the day."

It was, then, some of the Congressional Friends and others of the Garrisonian ilk, who assembled at Oakland, Clinton County, Ohio, in the fall of 1842. There they discussed the problem of a "free humanity." Dr. Abram Brooke, Valentine Nicholson, and others of the Congregational Friends, with John O. Wattles and others formed the Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform. The preamble to the constitution of the society stated that " . . . society, as it is now organized produces toil . . . intemperance, slavery, war and premature death; . . . sects, parties, governments, creeds and authorities, are by their nature enemies to human progress . . . and the right of one man to ownership in the soil and products of industry in contradistinction to another, is the fruitful cause of the evils of civilized society . . . ." As a solution to these "evils" they proposed in substance to establish a series of communities throughout the whole of the Mississippi Valley. These would be communal in nature. As each community prospered, those on the outside that still suffered the "evils of civilized society," would observe the "ease, Freedom, peace, plenty and intelligence" and at once seek to emulate. More and more communities would be formed, until the whole nation would be one happy harmonious band.

In the summer of 1843, a series of antislavery lectures was planned to start in New England, go west through New York, Ohio, and end in Indiana. This was known as the "Hundred Conventions." It was conceived by the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform that it would send along accompanying lecturers who, following the antislavery talk, would expound communitarianism. John O. Wattles, Nathaniel H. Whiting, and Jacob Ferris were attached to the first series; John A. Collins and John Orvis to the second series.

On the 20th and 21st of October, 1843, a meeting was held at Newport, Wayne County, Indiana. A Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform was organized. Hiram Mendenhall attended this meeting and was appointed to serve on a committee to select a site for a community. Mendenhall had had an earlier contact with Wattles, as Wattles was staying at Mendenhall's in the early part of October. While there he wrote to his future wife, "The community work goes on. Last night we had an interesting meeting. . . . One of friend Mendenhall's little boys, when he got home, went & got his pen & ink & a piece of paper & lay right flat down upon his face & by the light of the fire, he was writing down what he had heard."

There were finally established at least six communities: (1843) *Marlborough Community,* Stark County, Ohio; (1843) *Skaneateles Community,* Onondaga County, New York; (1844) *Prairie Home Community,* Logan County, Ohio; (1844) *Union Home Community,* Randolph County, Indiana; (1845) *Grand Prairie Community,* Warren County, Indiana; and (1845) *Christeen Community,* Marshall County, Indiana.

### *Union Home Community*

Following the organization of the local Society at Newport, it was not until July of 1844, that the committee on locations met in Greensborough, Henry County, Indiana. They issued a call for a general meeting to be held at Hiram Mendenhall's at Unionport, Randolph County, Indiana, the following month. Apparently much discussion and preparation had preceded this meeting, as the community was in operation almost at once.

Kersey Graves wrote to John Collins in October, "having been in operation but a few weeks . . . I have never enjoyed such

pure unsullied pleasure. . . . It is true, our number is small . . . our limited means will only accommodate about 40. . . . Our house has five rooms, including a kitchen, hall, parlor, and two bedrooms. There are also five or six other small buildings. And in addition to these, we have a large grist mill, a saw mill, a fulling mill, and a carding machine, which afford a considerable income. The whole amount of land in the farm is 415 acres, including 100 acres just purchased. Three hundred acres were donated by Hiram Mendenhall, who seems to have profited by the advice of Henry Clay, 'to mind his own business.'" Graves continued on the subject of physiological reform, saying that it "is progressing amongst us slowly." No meat had been eaten, but there are "a few who are sighing" for it. "A few use coffee and one, tobacco."

Mendenhall, writing to Wattles in the spring of 1845, had the following to say about Union Home: "The purpose of the friends here is to carry out the great idea of the oneness of the race. In the transition state they expect to toil, and labor, and drudge; clear off the rubbish from the old world, and begin to build on the foundations of the new. Should they be obliged to do more labor even than they did before, supported by the consolation that every day brings them a day nearer the time of redemption, they bear with patience and meekness the burden, hoping ere long to prepare a place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

In May of 1845, a full year before the failure of the community, W. R. Merine, who lived near the community but was not a member, wrote to Wattles: "My simple opinion is, that if the social reform system should fail here, it would also fail in almost any other location on the globe. . . ."

It failed. At the ensuing long and involved court proceedings filed by Mendenhall to reclaim his property, he testified ". . . that after trying the experiment for a short time, the principle part of the persons abandoned the property, without completing the organization of said society according to the original intent, and refused to contribute their labor upon said property, and refused to pay any portion of the Debts. . . ."

It appears that the main source of the trouble came after the families of Allen, Garretson, and West attached themselves to the organization. This occurred some time in the summer of 1845.

These were the families who, for the most part, had failed to carry out the original intent and had even deviated so far as to sell machinery from the carding mill and "put the money to their own use." And after the community was disbanded, these families refused to evacuate the property. It was for this reason that Mendenhall started legal steps to regain the property. This suit lasted from 1847 through 1855.

Following the fiasco at Union Home, Mendenhall's financial situation was hopeless. In years before he had bought considerable land, which was mortgaged; he held canal stock that was practically worthless, and he owed several personal loans. After a few years' efforts to overcome these reverses, Hiram Mendenhall, his son, Amos, and a few others, set out in the spring of 1850 for the gold fields. This attempt was fruitless; and aboard ship returning home he died, Sixth Month 30, 1852. Only then, perhaps, did he realize his dream of a place where "the weary are at rest."

ORIGINAL FAMILIES AT UNION HOME COMMUNITY

Hiram Mendenhall and wife, Martha, and family.

Andrew Spillard and wife, Hannah, and family.
Andrew Spillard was at New Harmony and was married there in 1827 to Hannah Hopson. Was at a community in Belleville, Illinois in 1836. Was in Economy, Wayne County, Indiana, as early as 1840, active there in Education Reform and as an Abolitionist. After Union Home, lived in Winchester, Indiana. In 1847 was divorced by his wife. Last record known to be in Cincinnati in 1848. Hannah continued to live in Randolph and Wayne Counties until her death.

Mark Patty and wife, Mary, and children.
Mark Patty and family (Hicksite Friends) from Miami County, Ohio to Randolph County about 1835.

John Witchel and wife, Bethsheba, and family.
John Witchel and family (Hicksite Friends) from Belmont County, Ohio to Wayne County, Indiana about 1834.

Richard Warwick and wife, Jane, and children.
Probably of Clinton County, Ohio.

Pusey Graves and wife, Jane, and children.
Pusey Graves came with parents from Delaware to Wayne County, Indiana, in 1817. A Friend; at the time of the separation went with the Hicksites. Married 1837, Jane Witchel, daughter of John and Bethsheba. Later removed to Kansas.

Kersey Graves.
A cousin of Pusey. Came from Pennsylvania with parents to Wayne County, Indiana in 1816. Was an Orthodox Friend. Was a lecturer of some note. Wrote several books. Died Richmond, 1883.

Samuel Mitchel and wife, Lydia.
Was in Randolph County as early as 1834. Active Abolitionist. Nothing further known.

Thurston Conant and wife, Jerusha.
Resident at Union Home. Later in Wayne County. Nothing further known.

Samuel M. Ruble and wife, Rowena.
Rowena Ruble was a daughter of Hiram Mendenhall. Lived in Randolph County.

Enos Adamson.
Nothing further known.

Jesse Pickering, "a minor."
Nothing further known.

## LATER FAMILIES AT UNION HOME COMMUNITY

Moses Allen and wife, Jane, and family.
Moses Allen (Hicksite Friend) from Ohio to Jay County, Indiana, about 1840. Died there 1855.

Talbot Garretson and family.
Talbot Garretson was a Hicksite Friend. To Wayne County, Indiana, about 1839. After Union Home removed to Henry County, Indiana.

Jesse West and family.
After Union Home removed to Henry County, Indiana.

Joshua and Nancy Ballenger.
After Union Home removed to Henry County, Indiana.

# Historical News

* * *

## Friends Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held on Eleventh Month 29, 1954 at Arch Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia. The meeting was planned in co-operation with Arch Street Monthly Meeting to celebrate the sesquicentennial of the building of the meetinghouse. In the absence of the President, Richmond P. Miller, Vice-President of the Association, was in the chair.

The Treasurer, in making his annual report (see next page) pointed out that dues and contributions to the Association are now deductible for federal income tax purposes. The following four Directors, whose terms had expired, were re-elected for a three-year term ending in 1957: Richmond P. Miller, C. Marshall Taylor, Edward E. Wildman, H. Justice Williams. The report of the Membership Committee was most encouraging, showing a net gain since the previous Annual Meeting of forty members.

Edwin B. Bronner, a Director of the Association and a member of the History Department, Temple University, delivered an interesting and illuminating address on "The Early Meetinghouses of Philadelphia." Photographs and drawings of the buildings were on display and the speaker had prepared a large map on which the various meetinghouses were located. After the address the Honorary President of the Association, William Wistar Comfort, was called on for a few remarks. A number of Friends in old Quaker costumes sat at the head of the meeting.

* * *

*Historical Abstracts* is a new journal scheduled to begin publication in 1955. Edited at the University of Vienna, it will consist of summaries of historical articles from journals published in all parts of the world. Articles appearing in this BULLETIN will be regularly abstracted, along with those in several hundred other historical magazines.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year Eleventh Month 16, 1953
to Tenth Month 31, 1954

RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dues Received: | | |
| Current | $1,833.00 | |
| Arrears | 63.00 | |
| Advance | 27.00 | |
| Life Memberships | 150.00 | |
| | | $2,073.00 |
| *Bulletins* and Royalties | | 465.51 |
| Income from Investments | | 264.00 |
| Gifts | | 127.00 |
| | | 2,929.51 |
| Cash Balance from 1952-53 | | 2,081.92 |
| Total receipts | | $5,011.43 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annual Meeting, 1953 | $ 134.50 | |
| Spring Meeting, 1954 | 65.02 | |
| *Bulletin* (2 issues) | 1,167.05 | |
| Editor's Fee | 300.00 | |
| Investments | 358.75 | |
| Editor's fee for Index | 40.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | 262.20 | |
| Total disbursements | | $2,327.52 |
| Cash Balance on deposit with the Girard Trust-Corn Exchange Bank | | $2,683.91 |
| Reserved for Publications and Index | $ 515.75 | |
| Reserved for current expenses | 2,168.16 | |

Respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS, *Treasurer*

Examined and Found Correct:
EDWARD R. MOON
GEORGE VAUX

## From Quaker Libraries

During the past academic year, the Earlham College Library received three notable collections of manuscripts—a large collection of Young Friends' archives and the personal papers of Homer L. Morris and Walter C. Woodward.

The young Friends' papers consist of three groups:

(1) Papers of the Board of Young Friends Activities, 1909-1930. These consist of ten feet of correspondence, financial accounts, mimeographed materials relating to activities sponsored by the BYFA and in which the BYFA participated (e.g., AFSC, Christian Endeavor, etc.) These papers have not yet received their final arrangement but may be used as they came from the Friends Central Offices. This collection is on deposit, pending action by the Permanent Board of the Five Years Meeting.

(2) Papers of the American Young Friends Fellowship, 1930-1951. These consist of three boxes of correspondence, minutes of the executive committee, and materials relating to conferences, caravans, and other activities. These papers have been arranged by Hannah Stapler of the FWC office.

(3) Papers of the Young Friends Committee of North America, 1947- —. These consist of about two feet of correspondence and printed and mimeographed materials relating to the organization and program of young Friends conferences.

The Homer Morris papers consist of about ten feet of letters, pictures, speeches, and miscellaneous materials, chiefly from the period 1914-1951. The important areas of interest are the papers from Homer Morris's work with the AFSC in Germany, Russian Subsistence Homesteads, and the Japanese Relocation Authority. Lecture notes from Earlham College and Fisk University are included as well as papers relating to his service as a trustee of Earlham College. The collection is to be kept intact until a biography is written, after which the librarian of Earlham College and the officials of the AFSC will decide the proper dis-

position of certain of the papers. The collection is open to use by qualified scholars with the permission of Edna W. Morris.

The papers of Walter C. Woodward, 1917-1918. These papers consist of correspondence to and from Walter Woodward as executive secretary of the Five Years Meeting.

* * *

Although the Quaker Collection at Haverford ordinarily confines itself to books, manuscripts, prints, and other materials characteristically held by a library, and leaves what might be called museum objects to the care of Friends Historical Association, it could not resist the proffered gift lately of a small bust of Elizabeth Fry. The figure shows Elizabeth Fry as an old lady, in an indoor cap or bonnet with frills around the neck and under the chin, wearing a shoulder wrap above a finely pleated or creased garment or wrap which discloses a ribbon bow in the V at the throat. The whole stands five inches high upon a turned base or pedestal, and seems to be cast from a compound such as Parian Marble. On the back is the cast signature, "Mary Rivers, Sc/London/Published As the Act Directs/May 18, 1843." A specially designed case of Mexican silver with glass panels encloses the bust. Case and bust are the gift of Margaretta S. Hinchman, of Gladwyne and Philadelphia.

* * *

A folio volume containing a large number of autograph letters and poems of John Greenleaf Whittier, a series of fifty-eight letters written by the Quaker poet to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, and a copy of the extremely rare first edition of *Moll Pitcher* in the original blue wrappers have recently been added to the Whittier collection of the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. A noteworthy addition to the manuscript collection is a group of approximately 725 letters written by or to Samuel M. Janney, an active Friend and historian of Quakerism who lived in Virginia during the last century and served for a time as head of the Northern Indian Superintendency under President Grant's "peace policy." The Library has also received a large group of letters written to Benjamin Hallowell and the Baltimore Yearly Meeting Committee on the Indian Concern during the same period, and two maps of Quaker-administered Indian agencies in Kansas and Oklahoma, painted on cloth by Marcus Mote.

# Book Reviews

*The Story of Quakerism.* By Elfrida Vipont. London: The Bannisdale Press. 1954. 312 pages. $2.50

This history of Quakerism is the first of the kind to appear in England for many years. As the Introduction states, it was felt that "it need amount to no more than a summary of the Rowntree Histories brought up to date." To reduce the five great volumes of Braithwaite and Jones to a little over 200 pages was quite a feat in itself and called for a nice sense of proportion. The author's apparently modest purpose has been well carried out, and in addition Part III carries on the history of the Society and its work both in England and America during the present century.

It is natural that the bulk of this tercentenary publication should deal with British Quakerism, for that is where one must look for the most significant contributions to the thought and life of the Society of Friends. Leading American Friends, however, are mentioned in their proper perspective, and nothing of primary importance in American Quakerism has been found lacking. An interesting feature in a history of this kind is the complete lack of footnotes, the author feeling that anything important should find a place in the text itself. This text is very happily written, as one should expect it to be by such an experienced writer.

A useful minor feature of the book is a tabulation of membership in the different meetings of the Society—a total of about 116,000 for America and about 58,000 for the rest of the world. This information is followed by quite a sufficient bibliography for further reading and a convenient index. It is a pity that the proofreading has been so faulty, but steps have been taken to correct misprints in a future edition. This book is the best current account of Quakerism for the interested inquirer.

*Haverford College* W. W. COMFORT

*The Conception of the Inner Light in Robert Barclay's Theology: A Study in Quakerism.* By Leif Eeg-Olofsson. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup. 1954. 258 pages. $4.50.

In a day when theology is once more becoming relevant to the human situation as viewed and experienced by ordinary persons, it is well for us to take a hard and penetrating look at the wisdom to be gained from the writings of Robert Barclay, the outstanding theologian produced by the Society of Friends. In reviewing a recent book about George Fox, Henry Cadbury notes that it does not attempt to evaluate "the current validity of [Fox's] religious position." In considering the historical and analytical treatment of "The Conception of the Inner Light in Robert Barclay's Theology" presented by Leif Eeg-Olofsson for the D.D. thesis at

Lund, we *should* keep in mind the current validity of Barclay's religious position. The book is sub-titled "A Study in Quakerism."

Leif Eeg-Olofsson paints a broad canvas. This is necessary in any comprehensive consideration of the conception of the Inner Light and Barclay's contribution to it. By definition the author calls the Inner Light "a characteristic of a divine disposition in man, through which he comes into contact with the Godhead." Even limiting his inquiry to thinkers mentioned by Barclay because he was in harmony with them or the reverse, it is necessary for him to deal with such "philosophers of antiquity" as Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, Phocylides. For example, "when Barclay refers to Plato, he wishes to show that Plato had a certain conception of Adam's fall, although he knew nothing of the story of original sin . . . [The] divine characteristic of the soul is expressed by Plato in various ways." Similarly, Eeg-Olofsson includes within the purview of Barclay the Old and New Testaments, the Apologists and Church Fathers, mediaeval Christian mysticism, the Cambridge Platonists, the Ranters, and Islamic and Jewish mysticism. The Inner Light is the key to Barclay's theology just as justification by faith is the key to Lutheranism. Barclay had much in common with Calvinism's "theological apparatus of ideas," held a rationalistic theory of cognition philosophically but theologically "places himself on the standpoint of revelation." He is Christocentric.

The main theological problem for Barclay is the problem of Christian mysticism. He is confident that there exists what he calls a right knowledge of God which is neither intellectualistic nor moralistic. Man cannot by himself achieve the right knowledge of God. It is entirely the gift of God. The Inner Light is the way the gift of God comes to man. One crucial problem is the relation between Christ's historical work of redemption and the *inner* justification. It is the contrast of redemption through Christ *for* us and through Christ *in* us.

Barclay's architectonic structure of faith is admired by Eeg-Olofsson but seems not completely satisfying to him. If this is true, it is because Barclay, although he inveighs against intellectualism, is not able finally to divest himself of the intellectual approach. Just as Kant in the last analysis was charged with making a too rationalistic critique of reason so Barclay's "revolt from reason" does not go far enough in escaping the pitfalls of intellectualism and rationalism. As Leif Eeg-Olofsson expresses it: "The question is whether the admission of a certain cooperation between the reason and the Inner Light denotes a departure from the starting point of Sola-Gratia Mysticism."

For Barclay the Inner Light is a saving light and a universal light. It derives ultimately from revelation. He is critical of both Catholicism and Protestantism, and in developing his position the author of this book traces Barclay's views on the Inner Light in relation to perfection, the Scriptures, the church and the ministry, worship, the sacraments, and the ethical practice of Quakers. In judging the practical consequences and "the current validity of his religious position" it is clear that Barclay

relies on the command of love in the Sermon on the Mount and the doctrine of perfection as the theological basis for his rejection of war and the taking of oaths. Conscience by itself is not enough. It is like a lantern in which the light of Christ must be lit.

*American Friends Service Committee* A. BURNS CHALMERS

*William Allen, 1770-1843.* By Helena Hall. Haywards Heath, England: Charles Clarke Ltd., 1954. 175 pages. 10s. 6d.

The author of this *Readers' Digest*-like condensation of the extensive journals and biographies of William Allen has prepared a readable account of the travels, philanthropies, family relationships, and royal connections of this English Friend of the post-Napoleonic era. Allen's work in helping construct the well-known English drug firm of Allen and Hanbury receives appropriate attention. And one is amazed upon reading the book at the multiplicity of concerns to which this Quaker equivalent of Metternich applied himself. Helena Hall's work makes available valuable information on an important period of Quaker history, though the pedestrian style does not recommend it as a good piece of literature.

*George School* ROBERT J. LEACH

*Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era.* By Katharine Anthony. New York: Doubleday & Company. 1954. 521 pages. $6.00.

Miss Katharine Anthony has ably accomplished her objective of portraying a very human though completely dedicated suffragist. As the reader finishes the book, its heroine stands forth indeed as a remarkable leader to whom every American woman owes gratitude, but in addition variously as the devoted nurse of a dying sister, the hard domestic worker in her farm home, a person of such emotional warmth that she remained a spinster only by often-repeated choice, and one who cherished for years close friendships with women both older and younger than herself.

Born in 1820 in Adams, Massachusetts, Susan B. Anthony moved in her young womanhood to Rochester, New York. There she joined first the temperance movement, and then, more actively, the Anti-Slavery Society, already the center of tremendous controversy. She gave up teaching to become one of the Society's paid agents. At the same time she grew increasingly concerned with women's rights. In her teaching days she had observed that the work for which she was paid $2.50 per week gave to a man whose job was identical $10 a week. And in a period of severe financial reverses for her father, her mother was able to keep from his creditors her share of her own father's estate only by the device of having her brother hold title to it. These experiences were not lost on the Anthony daughter.

After the emancipation of the slaves, Susan campaigned for voting rights for both Negroes and women together, but Negro males alone won the privilege. Thereafter practically all of Susan's energies for the rest of

her life went into the cause of women's suffrage. Her ten years in the Abolition movement had given her good training. She had learned to make public addresses; she had faced hostile audiences, even rioting. With remarkable physical endurance she had traveled on arduous journeys in great discomfort and with primitive accommodations. Now she lectured tirelessly all across the country, giving everything she made—which averaged about thirty dollars a speech—to the cause. She organized the annual conventions of the National Woman Suffrage Association in whose affairs she was a skilful strategist. She lobbied in Congress every year. She traveled to the Pacific Coast and to Europe. She provided the initiative, the persistence, and the diaries and memories from which Elizabeth Cady Stanton began the four-volume *History of Woman Suffrage,* finished by Ida Husted Harper.

Susan became a revered and notable public figure. She saw the beginnings of success for her cause as municipal franchise was gained in Kansas and state suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. Younger women of great ability, such as Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw, filled the ranks left vacant by Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Mrs. Stanton. Miss Shaw became the closest associate of Susan's later days, and years later wrote of "her humor, her courage, her quickness, her sympathy, her understanding, her force, her supreme common sense, her selflessness."

Susan B. Anthony died in 1906 at the age of 86, fourteen years before national suffrage was granted to women. All her life she was a Hicksite Quaker, with membership for many years in Rochester Monthly Meeting. Of the spirit which sustained Susan through her incredible activities the present author writes: ". . . her life expresses the power of faith as a practical endowment. She knew its potent secret and pure energy. . . . A woman of action, aggressive in many ways, she harnessed its powers to the things she thought good for this world. . . . The outward and visible victories of her long crusade came from the same inner light which fed and clothed her."

*Mt. Airy, Philadelphia* EMILY COOPER JOHNSON

# Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

Chigwell School in Essex, England, is famous to Friends and to others because it was attended for a time by young William Penn. He was eleven years old and the school about twenty-four years. Godfrey Stott, one-time Sixth Form Master of the school, has published two overlapping articles in which Penn's attendance is discussed in connection with Edward Cotton, Master of the Latin School from 1638 to 1658. They are "Notes on the Early Masters of the Latin School at Chigwell," *The Chigwellian,* 73 (Michaelmas, 1952), 75-77, and "Early History of Chigwell School," *The Essex Review,* 62 (1953) 4-13.

* * *

J. Monroe Torrington contributes to the *Alpine Journal,* 59 (1953), 19-22, an article on "Martin Barry, Quaker Microscopist." Barry (1802-1855) wrote "Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc, 16th—18th of 9th Month, 1834." He was one of the first doctors to ascend this mountain and to publish his findings. He was a consistent Friend, as even his dates show.

* * *

Grellet Academy, as the name suggests, is one of the many almost forgotten Quaker schools of last century. It was organized by Friends in 1878 in the Solomon Valley, Kansas, near Cawker City. The building burned in 1895 and was not rebuilt. A brief historical article about it was published by Henrietta Boyd in the Cawker City *Ledger,* February 25, 1954 (Information from *Kansas Historical Quarterly*).

* * *

The article on "Elections in Colonial Pennsylvania" by Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, C. S. J., gives a vivid picture of practical politics in a period when citizens were either for or against the Quaker policy. It is based on materials in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is published in the *William and Mary Quarterly,* Third Series, 11 (1954), 384-401.

* * *

H. Travis Clay writes on "The Fryers of Rastrick," a Quaker family, in the *Transactions of The Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1951), 63-70. From various records he notes their births, deaths, marriages, sufferings, building and business activities, including patents, mainly during the eighteenth century.

A page-length article by C. M. Cooper, entitled "Old Spring River Academy Monument to Early Day Settlers" was published in the *Pittsburg* [Kansas] *Headlight,* October 17, 1953. The Quaker Valley area of Cherokee County along the Spring River was settled by Quakers around 1866. In 1880 the Spring River Academy was opened and served the community until 1912. (This note is quoted from *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Spring, 1954), p. 71.)

* * *

Anyone who attempts to deal in one volume with *The Religious Bodies of America* will hardly suit those he discusses outside his own church. F. E. Mayer who writes on this subject (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954, 587 pages) devotes a dozen pages to the Quakers (400-414), their history, etc., but primarily their theology, which he finds either vague or unsatisfactory. Barclay is emphasized and the bibliography has some striking omissions. Under the circumstances perhaps one should be surprised that so much at least of the history is accurate.

* * *

With her usual combination of interest and detail Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert has written a pamphlet, *Two Hundred Years of Rocky River Friends Meeting, Siler City, N. C., Route 1* (1953, 16 pages, illustrated). The meeting was made up of migrants from the North. Its holding was intermittent for a time and it was not a preparative meeting until 1794 or a monthly meeting until 1908. The pictures are of the last two of its four meetinghouses and of some of its pastors.

* * *

An extended minute and a portrait of "Morris E. Leeds, 1869-1952" is published in pamphlet form in a special number of *Haverford College Bulletin,* Vol. 51 (1952).

* * *

*This Is New Jersey: From High Point to Cape May* by John T. Cunningham (Rutgers University Press, 1953, 230 pages) is a handsomely illustrated description of the state, arranged by counties. Quakers are frequently mentioned in the historical text and at least two of their meetinghouses, Crosswicks and Seaville, are pictured.

* * *

Besides the article by Frank Baker mentioned in this BULLETIN, 38 (1949), 124, an essay on the same subject of Early Methodism and the Quakers was written by John C. Bowmer. Like Baker's it was published in the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review,* 175 (1950), 148-153, 222-27, and in revised form is reprinted in America in *Religion in Life,* 23 (1954), 418-429. Individual relationships between Methodists and Quakers were often friendly, while collective judgments were unfavorable.

In the *Journalism Quarterly* 29 (1952), 171-174, Lawrence W. Murphy writes on "Thomas Maule: the Neglected Quaker." In Salem in New England in 1696 he was acquitted by jury as not guilty for a book he had written. This is a landmark in the history of the freedom of the press. The article is well worth reading, though it has such a familiar error as the phrase "witch burning" (the Salem witches were hanged), and it fails to mention (and perhaps to use) the important monograph on Maule by Matt B. Jones, reprinted from *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 72 (1936).

* * *

Harold F. Wilson has compiled a social and economic history of the New Jersey counties of Atlantic, Cape May, Monmouth, and Ocean (*The Jersey Shore* [New York: The Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1953, 3 vols.]) Its references to Friends are naturaly numerous, beginning in the chapter on the introduction of organized religion (Vol. I, pp. 111-115), but are mainly copied from earlier local histories.

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A one-volume *History of a Southern State: North Carolina* by H. T. Lefler and A. R. Newsome (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954, 696 pages) should be judged both by its balance and by its accuracy. To judge by its references to Quakers this book meets these tests. It deals fully with the early dominance of Friends, but only briefly with their involvement in education and the problems of war and of slavery.

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Eberhard Teufel has dealt in a scholarly way with the literary output and the controversial role of one of the notable forerunners of Quakerism in his *"Landräumig," Sebastian Franck, ein Wanderer an Donau, Rhein und Neckar* (Neustadt: Degener, 1954, 123 pages). The account of Franck's post-mortem reputation and influence unfortunately does not extend beyond the continent of Europe. Together with Will-Erich Peuckert's big work of 1943, *Sebastian Franck, ein deutscher Sucher,* Teufel gives us a considerable body of fresh information.

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Bernice L. Wing gives a vivid picture of Quaker farm life and customs on the Dakin farm at Ferrisburg, Vermont, ca. 1895-1905, in her "Memories of a Vermont Quaker" in *Vermont History,* 22 (1954), 108-119.

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A brief historical sketch of "The Valley Friends Meeting" appears in *The Picket Post* for April, 1954, pp. 9-10, as part of an article on the quarters of General Washington's staff at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1777-78, when the meetinghouse was used as a hospital. The picture of "the original meetinghouse as it appeared in 1714" is hard to reconcile with the text which dates the building of the first log-hut meetinghouse about 1730.

A brief but quite accurate account of "The Religious Society of Friends, the Quakers," by Beata Mueller is one of the series of illustrated articles about member bodies of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America published in the *National Council Outlook.* It appeared in December, 1953, (vol. III, no. 10, 6-7, 11, 23.)

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Two letters of Lindley Murray, the Quaker grammarian, are published in full in *Notes and Queries,* New Series, 1 (1954), 446-447. One is to Martha Routh, 1800; the other to Robert Spence, 1813.

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H. Rossiter Smith writes in *Notes and Queries,* New Series, 1 (1954), 250-253, 284-287, of "Matthew Green, 1696-1737," a minor poet. He was of Quaker ancestry and a birthright Friend. He turned against the Society but retained many of its characteristics.

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Because of the importance of Quakers in the banking business of Great Britain mention may be made of the article on "The Fathers of English Banking, the Rise and Fall of Private Bankers," in *History Today,* 3 (1953), 190-199 (illustrated), by Nicholas Lane.

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Overlooked in the list of Pastorius items in our last issue was S. Foster Damon's poem "Pastorius," published in the *American-German Review,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (December, 1951), 30-31. The author is a descendant of the subject. Was the last poem on the topic that of another New Englander, John G. Whittier's *Pennsylvania Pilgrim?*

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Vergilius Ferm has edited *The American Church of the Protestant Heritage,* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953, 481 pages). Unlike other studies of American churches, it is not written by one man but each chapter by a member of the church discussed. That on "The Society of Friends in America (Quakers)" (pp. 225-248) is by William E. Berry and covers in good proportion and with a brief bibliography what ought to be said in so short a summary.

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Among attractively written and illustrated business histories we note as relevant to Quaker history *Westerly's Oldest Witness* (1950) by Ralph Bolton Cooney. It tells of the hundred and fifty years of the Washington Trust Company, whose destinies have been largely guided by members of the Quaker Perry family ever since Thomas Perry became cashier in 1805. He was a cousin and for a time roommate in Westerly of Oliver Hazard Perry, later hero of the American navy. Management was passed on to his son Charles Perry, to his grandson, Charles Perry, Jr., and to his great grandsons Arthur L. and Thomas Perry. The two Charles Perrys served the bank for sixty-four and sixty-one years respectively. As a family banking record this tradition of business continued is hardly paralleled inside or outside the Society of Friends.

# Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley
*University of Pennsylvania Library*

*The Friend* (London)

"Father of Railway Time-Tables" was George Bradshaw (1801-1853). Bernard Canter contributes a note on a few of his activities not connected with the railways.—Sept. 11, 1953, p. 845.

Henry J. Cadbury finds, in "John Wesley's Relations with Friends," both agreement and controversy. Wesley thought the Quietist Friends of his own time were lacking in religious fervor.—Sept. 11, 1953, pp. 851-852.

In "Friends and the Threats to Civil Liberties" Henry J. Cadbury summarizes some of the civil-liberty problems early Friends faced and mentions the means they used to meet them.—Oct. 16, 1953, pp. 955-957.

Doris N. Dalglish writes a note "In Memory of Amelia Opie" (1769-1853), English novelist and poet, who joined the Society of Friends in 1825.—Nov. 27, 1953, pp. 1071-1072.

Henry J. Cadbury describes "The Scene of 'Fierce Feathers'" and prints the earliest known written account (1786) of this encounter between Friends and Indians, at Easton Meeting, New York, in 1777.—Dec. 11, 1953, pp. 1151-1152.

In "Revised Views of Quaker Origins" Henry J. Cadbury, reviewing recent American studies of seventeenth-century England, suggests that studying early Quakerism in its milieu may change our understanding of its nature.—Jan. 1, 1954, pp. 5-7.

"Centenary of a Quaker Mission to Russia," by L. Hugh Doncaster, tells of Joseph Sturge, Henry Pease, and Robert Charleton, who were appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings in 1853 to deliver an address to the czar of Russia in an attempt to avert war between Russia and Great Britain.—Jan. 15, 1954, pp. 41-43.

"John Bellers (1654-1725)" was a man ahead of his time in his proposals of help for the poor and for a European congress of nations. A. Ruth Fry contributes this note on a man "typical of what a Quaker should be."—Feb. 5, 1954, pp. 97-98.

A summary of an address by T. Canby Jones on "Jesus Christ in the Message of George Fox" concludes that for Fox Christ was transcendent Saviour rather than immanent Principle.—Mar. 26, 1954, pp. 262-263.

"Thomas Shillitoe—Christian Eccentric (1754-1837)" by Beatrice Saxon Snell describes some of the personal characteristics of this traveling Friend as well as his effective religious work—Nov. 5, 1954, pp. 1111-1113.

### *Friends Intelligencer*

"The Quakers' Text" (Letter from the Past No.. 146) is John 1:9: "That was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world"; "Now and Then" reflects on its relation to the traditional Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light.—Aug. 7, 1954, p. 442.

Emma H. Landon tells of a visit to Canada Yearly Meeting during which she worshiped in the old Yonge Street Meetinghouse, built 1808-1810; she gives the original minute from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that established the Yonge Street Meeting in 1804.—Aug. 14, 1954, pp. 453-454.

Letter from the Past No. 147 is on "Friends and the Healers"; it mentions two Friends who suffered from unidentified diseases: Anne, Viscountess of Conway, and John Greenleaf Whittier.—Sept. 11, 1954, p. 504.

"Hurricanes and Steeplehouses" (Letter from the Past No. 148) includes the interesting speculation that the term "steeplehouse," for the early Friends, may not have been a term of opprobrium but merely the avoidance of the use of the word "church" for a building.—Sept. 25, 1954 pp. 530-531.

### *The Friends' Quarterly*

Geoffrey F. Nuttall examines the relationship between "Early Quakerism and Early Primitive Methodism" as found in the lives and works of two Methodists, Hugh Bourne (1772-1852) and William Clowes (1780-1851).—July, 1953, pp. 179-187.

"Friends' Relationship to the British and Foreign Bible Society in its Early Years" by L. Hugh Doncaster tells of individual Friends who played a part in founding the Society and in spreading its branches throughout England and other countries. The author concludes that Friends' association with the Bible Society helped to bring them out of their "introspection" and into active Christian citizenship.—October, 1953, pp. 208-222.

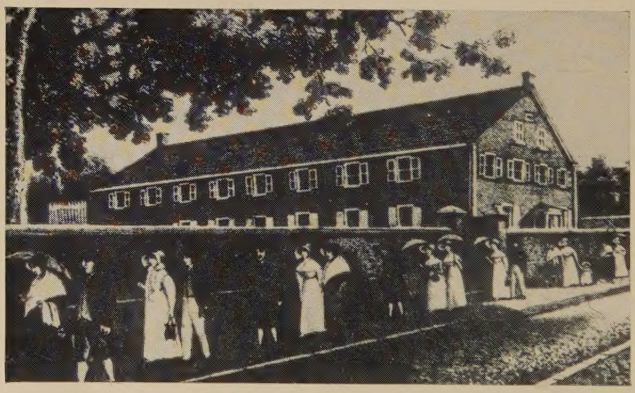
In "Quakerism as a Weapon: Complex Irony in Voltaire," Macdonald Emslie carefully analyzes the language of the four letters on the Quakers in Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophique* and maintains that Voltaire used his description of Quakerism satirically, as an attack on organized religion in general, yet in spite of himself revealed also some sympathy with Quaker belief and practice.—Jan., 1954, pp. 31-47.

E. Lewis Evans, in "Morgan Llwyd and the Early Friends," calls this Welsh divine "a pioneer of the spiritual movement of the seventeenth century." Llwyd thought and wrote very much like the early Friends and befriended and defended them. After his death many of his followers in Merionethshire became Friends. But Llwyd's spiritual development was prior to and entirely independent of Quakerism.—Jan., 1954, pp. 48-57.

Second Bank Meetinghouse. Front Street, west side, north of Arch. Built in 1702, with materials from the old Center Meetinghouse.

Greater Meetinghouse. Southwest corner of Market and Second Streets. The Court House is at the right, with the market stalls in the rear, extending up the middle of Market Street.

Meetinghouse and Friends School. Southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets.



Cherry Street Meetinghouse. On the north side of Cherry, between Fourth and Fifth Streets.

**EARLY PHILADELPHIA MEETINGHOUSES**